

A CONCISE

HISTORY OF RELIGION

BY

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VOL. III.,

Containing a History of

CHRISTIAN ORIGINS,

And of Jewish and Christian Literature to the end of the second century

(Issued for the Rationalist Press Committee)

LONDON

WATTS & CO., 17, JOHNSONS COURT, FLEET STREET

1897

PREFACE

"Is there, then, a dark chamber here, too, which we are afraid to examine—into which we dare not suffer the light of day to enter? So Colenso asked of the orthodox critics who, when he exposed the human and fallible authorship of the Old Testament, expressed alarm lest he should carry his method into the region of Christianity. In the present instalment of the "History" I have penetrated the dark chamber, and at least left the door ajar by which that influential person, the General Reader, may enter. He who has neither leisure, desire, nor opportunity to search the books catalogued at the close of the volume may secure a bird's-eye view of the main results of modern criticism of early Christianity and its literature. As in the previous volume on Judaism, so now, I have attempted to show the religious process in conjunction with the course of political events and with the march of secular literature. For religion forms part of sociology, and the story of the Church connects itself intimately with the life of the world at large.

Chronology furnishes the key to my plan, and I almost tremble at my own audacity in adopting such a principle. Anyone who has read much in controversial literature on the subject of the New Testament and other Christian books is well aware how constantly the question of dates haunts the course of debate. And critics have distributed over the second century a number of books which the ordinary Church historians quietly assign in the lump to the first century. Not only have I had to strike away from the con

ventional track, but I have also been compelled to act as umpire among contending scholars, and to apply my best expert judgment in deciding the period to which a book should be assigned. This operation may appear to leave a wide margin of uncertainty. But, in a large number of cases, while the precise year of authorship is disputed, the disputants agree in placing a book within one or two decades. And this suffices for the main purpose. I am, for example, not concerned to pronounce whether the Fourth Gospel appeared in 130, 140, or 150. In those days books did not leap into public notice with the rapidity they do now. The important question to consider is not the precise day or month of origin, but rather the quarter of a century in which the work began to attain recognition and influence. If I have correctly sketched out the general chronological progress, I shall experience no dismay at finding I have committed inaccuracies of detail.

As I have annotated my pages with references to so many authorities, I feel bound to point out that this book is not a mere compilation. Except from New Testament and other ancient documents, I have quoted not a single word. The names of modern writers will be found appended to sections in which I have utilised their labours, and yet in which I have expressed views totally opposed to theirs. And this applies to both orthodox and Rationalist authors. If I have differed from Lightfoot and Salmon on the one side, I have dissented from Davidson and Hausrath and the author of "Supernatural Religion" on the other. I trust the reader will allow that I have displayed a like impartiality in handling the delicate topics of early Christian belief and practice. I have steadfastly rejected popular ideas without fear of orthodox scorn, and I have tried to do justice to the Christian faith without needless deference to the exaggerated theories maintained by certain Rationalist schools. To Pagans and Christians and Jews and Gnostics I have accorded equal respect. I have persistently refrained from

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affixing such terms as "superstition" and "folly" to doctrines which are excluded from the sphere of my own personal belief. The same literary courtesy has been extended to the epistles of Paul, the visions of Hermas, the meditations of Aurelius, the speculations of Valentinus, and the dramatic episodes of the "Testament of Abraham." I leave Irenæus to rail against heresies. My only aim has been to marshal facts.

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January, 1897

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A Concise History of Religion.

VOLUME III

1 *Apion*—While, in the first century of the Christian era, many serious minded Gentiles conformed with the law and doctrine of the Jewish religion, a growing bitterness manifested itself among the populace at large towards the Hebrew race and faith. This bitterness and contempt found mouth pieces in such men as Apion the Grammarian. Born in Libya, he became a notorious citizen of Alexandria, and the darling of the anti Semitic mob. He lectured and wrote on multitudinous subjects—on Homer, the use of metals in medicine, the dialect of Rome, the Pyramids, the length of the intestine of the ibis, fishes which grunt at the sound of singing, the Jews, etc. Ribald wit, diffuse gossip, careless slander intermingled in his pamphlets and orations. “Every year,” he declared to the gaping crowd at Alexandria, “the Jews kidnap a Greek, and fatten him for a year, then they take him into a wood hard by, kill him, and offer up his body with their accustomed rites, taste his vitals, and, at the sacrifice of the Greek, take an oath to hate all Greeks. Then the rest of the unfortunate man’s body is thrown into a pit.” He gave absurd explanations of Jewish traditions and customs—the Hebrews in the Wilderness marched six days, and then, being prostrate with a skin disease called “sabbathosis,” rested perforce on the Sabbath day, and the Jews used to secrete a golden ass’s head in their Temple as an object of worship. Apion lectured in Greece, and also in Rome, where he settled in the days of Claudius (C.E. 41–54). Cool headed people had but a poor opinion of him, and nicknamed him the “Meddlesome,” the “Cymbal,” and the “Kettle-drum.” It was Apion who, when the grave and reverend Philo pleaded before the emperor Caligula for

*citizens had blocked out his view. The contention was carried to Rome, where Nero's fair mistress, Poppæa who tempered her vices with Jewish piety, interceded on behalf of the Hebrew deputies and gained her point. Festus died in 62. An interval of disorder ensued in the Holy City. While the newly appointed governor, Albinus, was on the road to Judæa, the High priest, Ananus, made short shrift of his religious opponents. In Josephus at this point ('Antiq.' ix, chap. ix, 1) the received text runs as follows: "He assembled the Sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was *James*, and some others, and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned, but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done, they also sent to the King [Agrippa] desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified—nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus as he was upon his journey from Alexandria and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a Sanhedrim without his consent" etc. Great suspicion hangs about this passage. When, in the third century, Origen goes back to Josephus for a reference to James, we find a singular variation in the terms. Origen observes that Josephus, 'although not believing in Jesus as the Christ, in seeking after the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple, whereas he ought to have said that the conspiracy against Jesus was the cause of these calamities befalling the people, since they put to death Christ who was a prophet, says nevertheless (being although against his will, not far from the truth) that these disasters happened to the Jews as a punishment for the death of James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus called Christ, the Jews having put him to death although he was a man most distinguished for justice'*. But this allusion to the cause of the fall of Jerusalem, while occurring in certain manuscripts of Josephus, is absent from

* 'Against Celsus' book 1, chap. xlvii. It is plain that Origen knew nothing of the supposed testimony of Josephus to Jesus as the Christ.

the common text, and was evidently long ago rejected as an interpolation. Since, then, Josephus' mention of James (if he made any mention) has been tampered with, we feel no inducement to rely on the passage above quoted.

Have we, then, any other and more certain sources of information about James? Paul the Apostle knew him, and ranked him with "Cephas and John" as "reputed pillars" of the Christian community in Jerusalem. Paul also recognised in James a supporter of that old time Judaism against which he himself was so earnest a protestant, and he tells an anecdote of Cephas, who, when at Antioch, showed enough liberality of soul to permit his eating at the same table with Gentiles, but on the arrival upon the scene of some of James's sect Cephas suddenly withdrew from contact with the Gentile converts. In accord with Paul's own notices of James there exists an account in the book of Acts, which represents James and the elders as advising Paul to prove his devotion to the Hebrew Torah by performing a ceremonial rite at the Temple. Whether a man of Paul's temperament would have yielded to such a request we need not here stop to consider. Years afterwards Eusebius, the historian repeated a second-century tradition concerning James to this effect: "He was a saint from his mother's womb. He drank no wine nor any other fermented drink, nor did he eat of any animal food. His head was never touched by a razor. He neither anointed himself with oil nor bathed. He alone was permitted to enter the sanctuary, for he wore no wool, but a linen garment. He went alone into the Temple, where he knelt continually, beseeching God for the forgiveness of the people, until his skin of his knees grew thick like that of a camel." James would appear to have been a Nazarite and an ascetic.*

While the martyrdom of such men as James made the discreet and tolerant ask anxiously whither the national affairs were tending, a weird and prophetic voice resounded in the streets of the Holy City. *Jesus*, or *Joshua*, a half-witted rustic, paced up and down through bazaars and lanes, and in the very courts of the Temple, crying "A voice from the east! a voice from the west! a voice from the four winds

* Schürer, *dv 1*, vol. II, Hausrath's "Time of the Apostles," vol. II.

against Jerusalem and the holy house! a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice against this whole people. The melancholy refrain irritated the people. Howled at by the mob and publicly scourged till his back lay raw beneath the rod, Jesus yet continued his wail of 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!' * Meanwhile the doomed city grew in beauty. The last touch was added to the handsome Temple which Herod the Great had begun to build. Eighteen thousand labourers who were thus thrown out of employment found a patron in King Agrippa II, at whose expense the city was paved with blocks of white marble. By his directions a great pile of Lebanon cedar was imported for the purpose of strengthening the Temple foundations. Destiny, however, reserved the timber for other purposes; it being used before long in the construction of engines of defence in the fatal siege. Jews of the conservative school shook their heads ominously when Agrippa broke with tradition by allowing the inferior Levites to wear the white linen costumes which had hitherto distinguished the priests †.

To Albinus a governor who freely took bribes and even connived at brigandage, succeeded the last and the worst of the procurators, Gessius Florus (64-66). He insulted and let others insult the religious sentiments of the Jews. At Cæsarea a Gentile scornfully took his stand at the entrance to a synagogue and killed birds over an earthen vessel in imitation of the Levitical practice in cleansing a leper. A riot ensued and a number of Jews who hastened to Florus to remind him of the money they had given him to purchase his protection were flung into gaol by way of reply. Then he sent armed men to the Temple treasury and plundered it of seventeen talents. Tumult filled the streets. Two men by way of satire on the procurator's greed carried baskets round the streets begging alms for needy Florus. His anger expressed itself in charging troops in permission to sack houses and in a ghastly array of crucified citizens. Queen Berenice at that time performing a vow, rushed barefooted into the presence of Florus and besought him to take pity on the suffering people, but, amid the jeers and threatenings of the soldiers, she was

* Josephus Wars book vi 5 3

† Josephus Antiquities xx chapter x, 5 6 7

forced to fly to Agrippa's palace for refuge (May, 66). When a multitude of citizens went out along the road to Cæsarea to greet two Roman cohorts, the soldiers made no return to their salutations. Murmurs and taunts arose, the military retorted by falling upon the people, and Jerusalem weltered in riot and blood. King Agrippa assembled the citizens on the open area of the Nystus, and begged them to show allegiance to Rome, and they yielded until they found that allegiance to Rome meant obedience to the vile Florus. Agrippa's persuasions fell on unheeding ears. Open rebellion ensued. No longer did the smoke of the daily sacrifice in honour of the emperor Nero rise from the Temple precincts. The payment of taxes was refused. A band of Daggermen broke into and took possession of, the fortress of Masada, which stood on the desolate rocks to the west of the Dead Sea. The Zealots, led by Eleazar, preached democracy, republic war. The aristocrats pleaded for peace and submission to Rome. Agrippa's palace went down in flames. Leaders of the peace party crept into the very sewers for refuge from the Zealots. The small Roman garrison capitulated, and was cut to pieces. Timid lips whispered of strange signs that warned of coming doom. At the Passover season an altar in the Temple shone with a weird light, and a cow, being led to sacrifice, gave birth to a calf. A massive gate of brass in the sanctuary swung itself open at midnight. In the sunset clouds one evening keen eyes had seen embattled hosts and besieged castles. The ears of priests had caught the sound of unseen beings rustling out of the Holy Place, and voices cried 'Let us go hence!'

Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria hastened towards Jerusalem. His army set fire to the northern suburb, and then retreated. Jews lay in ambush in a ravine and made a violent onslaught upon the Romans, capturing much war material. Panic and hate spread wide. In Cæsarea a massacre left not a Jew alive. Towns were divided, and Jewish populations fought with Greek. Even to Alexandria the terror extended, and the Hebrew quarter of the great Egyptian port was the scene of a new butchery. A council of war, composed of leading Pharisees, prepared for the defence of the Holy City, and sent commanders to the provinces to raise armies and stay the expected advance of

the Romans towards the capital. Over Galilee was appointed a young man of thirty, quick witted and resourceful, but unheroic, self seeking, and time-serving. This was *Josephus*, son of Matthias, who was afterwards to become famous as a historian.

Josephus, born in 37 or 38 C.E., came of a priestly family. As a lad he studied the Law so closely that, when he was only fourteen, eminent priests and elders resorted to him for the interpretation of obscure questions. He inclined to the school of Hillel rather than to that of Shammai*. Religious impulse drove him to the wilderness near the Dead Sea, where the white-robed Essenes lived their tranquil and ascetic life. He attached himself to the hermit Banus, whose garments were woven from the fibres of bast, and who made his scanty meals from roots and wild herbs. After three years Josephus returned to Jerusalem. The lot of an anchorite demanded too much self surrender, yet he was sufficiently pious to join the Pharisees, while prudence and worldly wisdom led him to oppose the patriotic enthusiasm of the Zealots. At the age of twenty-four he visited Rome (61), suffering shipwreck on the way. There the urbane and flattering youth drew smiles from Poppæa, the mistress of Nero. She secured the success of his mission by inducing the Emperor to order better treatment for certain imprisoned Rabbis. When the rebellion broke out in Jerusalem his love for his religion and his nation prompted him to take up arms, but it was too feeble to prevent him watching for a decent opportunity to go over to Rome.

In Galilee Josephus found two parties. Hot-spirited young men formed groups round John of Gischala, Jesus of Tiberias, Justus of Tiberus, and others, and ranged the hill country, ever ready to swoop down upon passing troops of Romans. Most of the peasants, devoted to the culture of olives, corn, and cattle, had little heart for a war which destroyed their commerce. Josephus, the Pharisee, and his army of 100,000 unwarlike husbandmen made but a poor resistance to the Gentile legions. Before long John of Gischala and his guerillas detected the lukewarmness of Josephus, and only the loyalty of the simple peasants that

* See "Concise History of Religion," vol. II, sect. 22.

swarmed about the eloquent Pharisee saved him from the plots of the Zealots. A miserable campaign in Galilee, marked by tumults, dissensions, deceptions, and petty skirmishes ending in *fright and disorder*, reached a crisis when, in the spring of 67, the renowned general Vespasian advanced into Galilee. Josephus fled to the little fortress of Jotopata which lay perched up on the crest of steep cliffs, and was approachable only on one side. When the Roman battering ram had broken the ramparts and the starving defenders were outworn by the forty-seven days' siege, the Romans clambered by night into the fortress, slew the sleeping sentinels, and put the people to the sword. Josephus, who had hidden himself in a cistern, was glad enough to yield to a summons from Vespasian. John of Gischala escaped to Jerusalem, where he gave a fresh stimulus to the Zealots, provoked a fierce civil war with the party of peace and conservatism, and then quarrelled with a rival leader of the rebellion Simon Bar Giora. Meanwhile, the emperor Nero had died (June, 68), his successor Galba was murdered, Otho and Vitellius fought as rivals, Otho committed suicide. Vespasian's claim to imperial power was followed rapidly by the murder of Vitellius, and on Vespasian's son, Titus devolved the dread task of conquering the Holy City of the Hebrew race.

Jerusalem overlooked valleys on three sides, the ascent sloped easily on the north. The eastern, or Lower City, faced the western or Upper City, the hollow passage of the Tyropæon ran between. To the north of the Lower City rose the glittering Temple, and beyond that the strong walled keep of Antonia. A wall encircled the whole city, another wall ran round an old northern suburb, a third wall enclosed, still further north the new suburb of Bezetha.

Against the battlements of Bezetha the rams of Titus, long delayed by political changes in the Roman empire, began to thunder in April, 70. Josephus now in the Roman camp, and contemptuously employed by Titus as interpreter and informer watched wall after wall collapse. Several times, at Roman suggestion, he mounted the broken bulwarks, and offered terms of surrender to the citizens. They replied with jeers and stones. Famine brooded over the City. A mother ate the flesh of her own child. Deserters crept out, only to be nailed up on crosses by the

hundred. A stone from a Roman engine struck Jesus, the insane peasant, and forever silenced the voice that cried woe to Jerusalem. The castle of Antonia fell. In the courts and corridors of the Temple despairing struggles took place. A densely packed mass of 6,000 Jews, collected in the eastern porticoes of the sanctuary, and every moment expecting the appearance of a divine Messiah, soon lay prostrate in the flames which roared through the hallowed building. John of Gischala and Simon Bar Giora retired to the Upper City with the last grim remnants of their forces. In a few weeks the Romans completed their work of conquest (September, 70). Of the fair city nothing remained but ruined heaps and a few palace-gates left standing to protect a small guard. John and Simon, who had concealed themselves in subterranean passages, were captured. Many Hebrew prisoners wrestled with wild beasts, or met each other as gladiators in the crowded arenas of Cæsarea and other towns. Others were sold in the slave-markets, or toiled sullenly in the lead works of Egypt. Vespasian and Titus rode in triumph through the streets of Rome, while curious eyes gazed on the table of shewbread, the seven branched candlestick, and the sacred rolls of the Torah which had been snatched from the burning Temple. Simon Bar Giora suffered death that day on the Tarpeian rock. John of Gischala fretted out the rest of his life in prison. Josephus enjoyed a country estate in the pleasant plain of Sharon. The war died out in sieges of a few scattered fortresses. In 73 the Zealots still defended the fortress of Masada. When the victorious Romans entered the stronghold it was only to find the garrison slain by their own hands. Palestine now formed an item in the emperor Vespasian's landed property, and its taxes were contributed to his private purse.*

3 The New People — Ever since the ages when the songs of the Psalter gave expression to the religious passions of the Hebrew soul, a dividing line had been drawn between

* Josephus, "Wars of the Jews" and "Life." For account of Josephus, Schürer, div. 1, vol. 1, and Hausrath's "Time of the Apostles," vol. 1. For the war, Schürer, div. 1, vol. 11., Hausrath vol. 14, and Graetz, "History of the Jews," vol. 11.

the Pious, whose hopes soared towards God and the Worldly, whose thoughts clung to the pleasures and interests of earth. And now that the expectation of a Messiah had gained strength and definition, and the belief in a Future Life had grown into a powerful motive, the contention between Piety and Secularism increased in sternness. As the movement continued it changed many of its characteristics and merged itself into a revolt against Judaism, against politics, and against learning. Not long before the rise of the Christian era the *Psalms of the Pharisees** gave vent to the bitter feeling of the pietist class against the humanist liberal and prudential Sadducees. In these compositions the Psalmist splits society up into Sinners on the one side and Saints (*hasidim*) or Righteous on the other. The Sinners oppress the Saints, but a day of Judgment approaches, when a great separation will take place, the inheritance of the wicked being 'Hades and darkness and destruction' and they shall not be found in the day of mercy for the righteous, but the saints of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness. The Saints lift up their eyes in waiting for a Messiah, an Anointed One, the Son of David, who will gather the scattered tribes of Israel and make Jerusalem the dominant city of the world. The title of Christ (*Christos*) is three times used in the *Psalms of the Pharisees*† so that long before the Christian Gospel was formed the name of Christ was uttered by the lips of the devout. In that portion of the *Book of Enoch* which we have already dated about the period of Herod the Great‡ we behold visions of the Elect One, or Son of Man who will destroy Sinners and exalt the Righteous. A passage in the *Book of Enoch* pictures the Saints as contemning gold and silver and food and life itself in comparison with the service of God. and in the *Psalms of the Pharisees* the writer speaks of the Righteous as the Poor and the Needy. Let us further recall the fact that a remarkable body of devotees, the Essenes, had, in their wilderness retreat, displayed to the Jewish world the virtue and blessing of a

* Or of 'Solomon.' See vol. II, of this 'History' sect. 22

† Introduction to the 'Psalms of the Pharisees,' trans. by Pyle and James.

‡ Vol. II sects. 2* and 23

simple and even ascetic life. We have here hints as to the birth of the New People,* who, according to the New Testament itself, were not known as "Christians" until some time had elapsed after the death of their Founder (Acts vi 26). How did the term "Christians" come into vogue? Believers in the Christos or Anointed One, whom the Saints watched for before the Christian era would naturally adopt the name. But the use of the name received an impetus from another and singular quarter. The Greek word "Chrestos" signified 'good excellent, gracious,' etc. Even among the early Christians themselves the name "Christian" had become in some way associated with that of 'Chrestos' and 'Christian'. Justin Martyr observes, in his *Apology* (chapter iv) that we are accused of being Christians and it must be wrong to dislike people on that account, since, he adds in a half-jocular manner 'to hate what is *chreston*—excellent—is unjust. Tertullian remarks that Christians were frequently called 'Chrestians', and Lactantius, still later noticed that the common folk had a habit of mispronouncing 'Christ' as 'Chrest'. Christians would raise little objection to an epithet which suggested that they were amiable characters and their Master a model of goodness. But was it indeed a case of mere careless pronunciation? The Roman historian Suetonius, writing in the early years of the second century refers to Christ as "one Chrestus" and regards him as a fomentor of disturbances among the Jews in Rome. Another remarkable circumstance must be added in the epitaphs on tombs, usually looked upon as primitive Christian the word commonly occurs in the form of Chrest or Chrest†. The term 'Chrestos' was applied to the virtuous dead in inscriptions which were undoubtedly pagan. Certain gods enjoyed the title, and an inscription has been found referring to 'Isis Chreste' the gracious Isis of Egypt. The conclusion is that, without searching for the Jesus of the Christian history we find, in the first Christian century religious beliefs and usages which by themselves sufficiently account for the origin of the name Christians.

* The expression is Professor Johnson's in *Antiqua Mater*

† Dr J B Mitchell in his *Chrestos a Peligious Epithet* says it is always spelt so in the earlier cases

The New Movement could not confine itself to Jewish circles. Antioch, the city where the name "Christian" is said to have obtained popular currency, was Greek. The names of the prominent men who composed the first poor relief committee in the Christian community were all Greek (Acts vi). But a considerable body of the New People clung to the venerable Jewish Law, and these were destined to a double opposition—the Gentile Christians banning them as conservatives bound by Levitical rules and ideas, and the orthodox Jews rejecting them as *Minim*, or *Minxans*—*i.e.*, religious innovators and heretics. They appear to have borne the name of Ebionites because of their poverty (Heb *Ebion* = poor). As far as can be gathered from later descriptions of their doctrines they held that the Law was binding upon all men, that Christ possessed a divine power imparted to him at baptism, but that he was born in the normal manner, and that his mission consisted in an exemplary fulfilment of the Jewish Law. They recognised as an authority (as it was long afterwards asserted) the gospel of Matthew in the Aramaic language, and refused to place any value on the epistles of Paul. Akin to these "Poor, but not so widely spread, were the Nazarenes, who respected Paul as an apostle believed in Christ as virgin born and did not consider the Mosaic law as binding upon Gentile followers of the new way of religion. They also read and respected the Aramaic gospel. One easily suspects a close connection between Ebionites and Essenes. Both schools observed circumcision and the Sabbath, both held aloof from animal sacrifice, both practised religious bathing or baptism. While, however, most of the Essenes avoided marriage the Ebionites claimed the freedom to wed. If on the one side, the Poor Saints leaned towards the customs and opinions of the Essenes, they clearly sympathised on the other with the mystic doctrines of the Gnostics. For even when they had accepted the Christian Messiah, they dreamed themselves away in speculation as to his true character, some affirming that he was the son of Joseph some that he was an archangel some that he had been more than once incarnated, first of all in Adam and last in Jesus. Other sects remain but dimly visible to us through the historic gloom of the early Christian period, such as the Disciples of John the Baptist, of whom passing glimpses are

furnished by the New Testament (Matt ix, Acts xviii, xix.), the Hemerobaptists, or Daily Baptists, who reverently dipped their bodies in water every day, and these appear to have been related to the Mandæans (or Sabeans), who took the name in honour of the divine Æon, Saviour and Mediator, known as Manda *

About the middle of the first century the New People and their religion had found their way to Rome. The Roman Government felt no love for Jews, however much individual Romans might hanker after the oriental novel ties of Mosaism. Heavy poll taxes had been laid upon them. In the time of Claudius (41-54), as Suetonius narrates, all Jews were banished from Rome, for they were "continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus"†. Yet Jewish ideas and practices gained ground, despite the police measures of the Government and the ridicule of the Roman wits. On Sabbath days certain proselytes closed their shops. Some made devout pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Careful divisions of food into clean and unclean were observed. Juvenal, the satirist, gibed at pious fathers who trained their sons to spend the seventh day in idleness, to avoid swine's flesh to worship an invisible god beyond the clouds, and, in bigoted exclusiveness, to refuse even to point out the road to an uncircumcised stranger. Into the Jewish quarter of Rome, where some 20,000 Hebrews had crowded, the New Movement penetrated. Stray hints in Paul's epistle to the Roman Christians give us glimpses of a community by no means at one on points of doctrine and morals. While some freely ate meat and drank wine, others lived a simple Essenan life as vegetarians and water-drinkers. In one household the old festivals were kept with strictness, in another, all days were treated alike (Rom xiv). Among a section of these Jewish Christians the harlotries of Nero's court and the secularism of Rome's religion and politics had roused a dangerous and seditious zeal. Paul uttered a word of warning "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers" Never-

* W. R. Sorley's "Jewish Christians and Judaism," Kurtz's "Church History," vol 1, secs. 25 and 28.

† Suetonius, "Lives of the Casars," Claudius, xxv. This historian wrote in the period 98-120.

theless, the demeanour of the disciples of the New Movement led the Roman authorities to suspect a religion which showed no reverence for the Empire and its administration. Tacitus frowns upon these Jews who despise the gods, and cherish their dogmas above the ties of family affection. In the year 64 a fire, breaking out in a humble shop-keeping district of Rome, spread over an immense area of the city. Nero energetically provided food and shelter for the homeless citizens, and planned out superb structures and new streets. People murmured that he had himself caused Rome to burn. To allay this rumour the Emperor made scapegoats of certain denizens of the Jewish quarter, who followed what Suetonius calls "the new and baneful superstition." Here we may quote the famous passage from Tacitus ("Annals," xi. 44) "To dispel suspicion, Nero fastened upon and subjected to ingenious tortures the people whom the public called Christians. Christ, the originator of that name, had been executed by the procurator Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius. The abominable superstition, though put down for a time, broke out again, not only in Judæa, where it began, but also in Rome, where all bad and shameful things collect and flourish. Out of the number first arrested some confessed, and these, with a great multitude against whom they gave information, were condemned, not so much on account of the fire, as because of their hatred against mankind in general. They were ridiculed even in their death, for some were clad in the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by dogs, some were nailed to crosses, others burned to death, and, as dusk came on, some were lit [after being smeared with pitch] as torches in Nero's own gardens.* In Christian memories blood and horror were associated with Nero's name. After his death in June, 67, reports flew from corner to corner of the empire, hinting that Nero was still alive and would return from his hiding place among the Parthians beyond the river Euphrates, and take revenge upon his enemies.†

* The genuineness of the passage has been doubted. Tacitus was contemporary with Suetonius. For the events just narrated see Hausrath's "Time of the Apostles," iv, chapter on "Jews in Rome," and Homersham Cox's "First Century of Christianity," vol. 1, chap. x, "Antiqua Mater," chap. 1.

† Hausrath's "Time of the Apostles," iv, chap. on "The End of Nero."

When, in 68, the Roman armies, after the conquest of Galilee, began to converge upon Jerusalem, a party of the New People took flight from the doomed city. Writing long afterwards, Eusebius tells how the Christians received a divine revelation directing them to escape. They made their way across the Jordan into Perea, where, on a plateau overlooking the high road to Damascus, stood the town of Pella. Here the settlement of humble Nazarenes and Ebionites dwelt in peace, while Jerusalem endured the agonies of the siege.* And here, if certain critics have judged rightly, some unknown writer published a small apocalypse, which we may call *The Broad sheet of Pella*, and which is contained, in a more or less modified form, in the first three gospels (Matt. xxiv 1-44 \ 17-23, Mark xiii 1-37, Luke xxi 5-36). This document purports to give a speech from the mouth of Jesus as he sits on the Mount of Olives in view of the Temple, but its real character as an original manuscript is suggested by the curious fact that, both in Matthew and Mark, the mention of the pollution of the Temple is followed by the remark, "let him that readeth understand"—a caution altogether out of place in a speech. A glance at the broadsheet will show how applicable are its contents to the conditions of the year 68. The elegant masonry of the Temple will be shattered. Sham Messiahs will appeal to the mob. Earth quakes will rumble, famines desolate, wars alarm. The disciples of the new gospel will be flouted, whipped, and in some cases, slain. But they must cast aside all anxiety, and in the hour of trial the inner voice of the Holy Spirit will bid them speak the appropriate word. Unhappily, some weak minds will fail, and recant, and even betray their kinsmen. The Temple will be desecrated as Antiochus Epiphanes profaned it with an altar of Jupiter, and then the thunderstorm of wrath will lower. The Saints must flee. Well will it happen if the day of flight fall not on a Sabbath for the devout Nazarene or Ebionite will save his life only with reluctance, if at the cost of breaking the Sabbath. And then the Son of Man will appear among the clouds, the celestial trumpet sound, and the Elect will be

* Sorley's 'Jewish Christians, ch. iv, Hausrath's 'Apostles, iv, chapter on "History of the Christians during the Jewish War"

gathered in from field and cottage. Let the Saints take heed and watch and pray. Such, in substance, is the message of the apocalypse which has been preserved by the first three gospels, though a comparison of the three versions reveals curious variations, as if later hands had added or subtracted a word here or a sentence there. The supposed prophecy clearly enough reflects the terror and uncertainty of the final days of the Jewish War, when the Saints looked upon the impending fall of Jerusalem as a signal for the descent of Messiah and the triumph of his followers *.

4. Organisation and Customs of the New People.—If the reader appreciates the use of the term 'The New People,' he will allow that the religious innovators whom we have seen at Jerusalem at Rome, or at Pella, represented an evolution which had as yet little consistency or definition. Their organisation, their doctrines, their literature, had not yet taken clear and peculiar forms. In the present section we shall somewhat anticipate the course of history and trace the early growth and government and customs of Christian societies, in order to understand whither the embryo religion of the first century was tending. Having, so to speak, viewed the apparatus through which the New Movement worked, we shall be better able to approach the difficult problem of the essential character of the Gospel in which that Movement embodied itself.

For many years the New Movement propagated itself through small local societies, which gradually took the name of *Churches*. Celsus, with a smile, noticed that the Christians he met were mostly weavers, cobblers, tanners, and the like. These humble artisans, shopkeepers, and slaves met in rooms in private houses. The book of Acts shows us how a hundred and twenty Saints held prayer meetings in an upper chamber in Jerusalem. From allusions in Paul's letters and the Acts we glean details of the character of the Greek Christian assemblies. Forty or fifty people would meet in an upper room of a private house. There, remote from the hum of the street, the group of enthusiasts would greet each other and join in worship. As working people they found it

* Hansrath's 'Apostles,' iv, chapter last cited. Reim's *Jesu of Nazara*, vol. v, chapter iv.

convenient to attend chiefly in the evenings. The burning of many lamps and the presence of a crowd heated the air, and the windows were thrown wide, and naturally enough, as the story of Eutychus suggests (Acts xx.), the close atmosphere sometimes made the less fervent listeners inattentive and drowsy. Women sat apart, closely veiled. In an adjoining chamber, or in a specially marked off corner, known as the Place of the Unlearned, gathered inquirers and stray visitors who were not yet admitted into full membership. As years passed by differences of rank received increased attention, until the writer of the "Epistle of James" indignantly complained that the richer Christians were assigned comfortable seats and the poorer brethren left to stand, or to squat uneasily on the floor or footstools. Some kind of reading opened the meeting, such as an extract from the Law or the Prophets, and, as Paul suggested that the "tallith" or head-covering worn by readers in the synagogues was symbolical of ignorance of God's gospel, we may suppose no such veil was worn by Christian lecturers. An exhortation or sermon followed. Prayers, praise, and psalms formed parts of the routine. In democratic spirit, any person so inclined was allowed to rise and sing a hymn, or utter an experience, or make an inspiring appeal, his words being echoed by a fervent "Amen, Amen" from the audience. At times devotion reached the point of excitement and rapture, and the speaker's voice rose to an inarticulate shout or a mysterious whisper. The hearers received this "tongue" with reverence, though without comprehending its significance, unless, indeed, another member of the congregation offered to interpret the meaning of the "unknown tongue." Now and then a quiver of ecstasy ran through the room, and a whole chorus of voices, yelling and discordant, gave wild vent to the feelings of the Saints. Paul found it necessary to rebuke these unedifying outbursts. While women may have been left free to utter a prayer or express themselves in a "tongue," they did not engage in set and formal discourse, or, if any did, it was against the precise injunction of Paul, "Let the women keep silence in the churches, it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church." We have but little information to guide us to a conception of the method of sermon in vogue among the churches, and no doubt the

style varied according to time and place. One man would recite passages from the Old Testament, and weave out of them an allegory of the Messiah and his mission, as is done in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Another would indulge in prophecy, and point his eager audience to the approaching Day of Judgment, and its terrors and splendours as portrayed in the Apocalypse. A third might throw his soul into a fervent moral appeal to the people to join the new Christian Way, and lead a peaceable, discreet, abstemious Christian life. A fourth would repeat a parable or an ethical maxim which he had heard quoted as the teaching of the Lord Jesus. What kind of hymns were sung we are left to conjecture. Perhaps the "Song of the Lamb" in the Apocalypse may stand as a type. "Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God, the Almighty! Righteous and true are thy ways, thou King of the ages! Who shall not fear, O Lord, and glorify thy name? For thou only art holy, for all the nations shall come and worship before thee, for thy righteous acts have been made manifest."*

An important part of the church meetings consisted of a common meal, the *Love-feast*, or *Agape*, as it was subsequently called. Each member of the little society would bring with him a portion of food or a flask of drink, and the Saints would sup together, sometimes with pious cheerfulness and sobriety, sometimes, as Paul noted with anger, in haste and unsocial disorder. The custom of a common meal was widespread in Greek lands in Athens in Rhodes, in Asia Minor, etc. Men and women formed themselves into clubs (*erani* or *thias*), in order to provide mutual help, insurance against fire, savings banks and social intercourse. Meetings were secret, and were often held in enclosed gardens in the midst of which the society erected its altar of sacrifice. Candidates for membership were examined as to character, they must be "holy, pious and good." Each club had its officers including a president. Rome also had its numerous clubs or colleges, a special object of which was to provide decent interment or cremation for deceased members. The Emperors viewed these fraternities with distrust, for they offered centres for con-

* Hausrath's "Time of the Apostles" vol. II., chapter on "The Early Churches."

of "racy and sedition." The Christian churches, then, had a certain resemblance to these popular clubs, and the club dinner and the Love-feast possessed no little likeness. If, among the Christians, the Agape took on a deeper and religious aspect, this, too, recalled a Greek practice—the sacred meal of the "Mysteries" of Eleusis and other holy places. The Mysteries began with a solemn proclamation such as—"Let no one enter whose hands are not clean, and whose tongue is not prudent." After confession of sins, the initiated were baptised (at Eleusis the baptism took place in the sea). Each initiate sacrificed a pig. Processions blazed with lighted torches, and made the valleys re-echo with divine hymns. A strict fast during nine days could only be relieved by partaking of a sacred drink of water mingled with flour and mint, and of sacred cakes. At night the people gathered before a stage where symbolic scenes represented forlorn Demeter seeking her daughter Kore—the earth mother seeking the hidden grain in the sad winter season, and the up shooting of the spring corn to the new life, and so through the medium of this parable, the doctrine of the soul rising again from the darkness of the tomb was inculcated. Ritual such as this paved an easy way to the Christian ceremonial of the *Lord's Supper* or *Eucharist* (Greek *Eucharistia* = thanksgiving). In what way the Lord's Supper was connected with the Love-feast does not clearly appear, but, in course of time, the Agape dropped out of practice, and the Eucharist alone remained as a rite of the deepest religious influence. There is a noticeable confusion in the accounts furnished by various early Christian writers. Chrysostom tells us that the Christians would first meet to hear prayers and sermon, and to receive the Mysteries, and then the provisions brought by the richer disciples were placed on a common table at which all sat down. But Egyptian Christians celebrated the Eucharist on Saturdays after dinner, and several writers pointed out that Jesus himself instituted the new rite after

* Penin's "Apôtres" under "An 45," Stanley's "Christian Institutions," chap. iii.]

† Hatch's "Influence of Greek Ideas" chap. x. see also notes on Mithraism and the Greek Mysteries in the last chapter of vol. II. of this History.

concluding the Passover supper. However, the custom gradually grew up of partaking of the Eucharist fasting and in the morning*. Paul's reference to the Lord's Supper lacks clearness. The Corinthian Saints had a bad habit of eating and drinking at their assemblies in an irregular manner. Under such conditions, he says, "it is not possible to eat the Lord's Supper," and he proceeds to recite the origin of the ritual—"The Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread, and, when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said, This is my body, which is for you, this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come" (1 Cor. xi., Revised Version). Did Paul regard the bread as part of the "supper"? And was he desirous of transforming the common meal into a "Lord's Supper," or did he wish to direct that a solemn Eucharist should follow the common meal? In passing, it may be noticed that Paul usually preserves a singular silence with respect to the biographical record of Jesus as given in the Gospels, and yet here he cites (he says it was "received of the Lord") an incident in considerable detail. Is it possible the Gospel reports of the Lord's Supper were borrowed from Paul himself?

After the thanksgiving ("eucharistia") had been pronounced by the leader of the assembly, the Saints would turn each to his neighbour, whether man or woman, and salute with the holy kiss of Peace. "Salute one another with a holy kiss," enjoins the Epistle to the Romans, and Justin Martyr, a century afterwards mentions that, just before the Eucharist was introduced, 'we (Christians) salute each other with a kiss'. The custom died out by slow degrees†.

A valuable early document, the "Didache," which we shall again examine at a later stage, makes allusion to the mystic meal. "Now, concerning the Eucharist," it says,

* The subject is discussed in Bingham's "Antiquities" book xv., chap. vii.

† Stanley's "Christian Institutions," chap. iii. Bingham's "Antiquities," book v., chap. iii.

"thus give thanks—First, concerning the cup We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant, to thee be the glory for ever And concerning the broken bread We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant, to thee be the glory for ever. Just as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and having been gathered together became one, so let thy church be gathered from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom, for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, except those baptised into the name of the Lord, for in regard to this the Lord hath said. Give not that which is holy to the dogs' (Didache, ix.) Have we here a primitive form of the rite observed by the New People? Observe that no hint occurs as to the wine representing the blood, or the bread the body of Jesus The use of the precept, "Give not that which is holy to the dogs," curiously differs from the turn given to it in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt vii 6) Justin Martyr tells how water was mixed with the wine, and he expresses much perplexity at the fact that the Eucharist had been "imitated" in the mysteries of Mithras, wherein the initiates received bread and a cup of water, accompanied with incantations* From anecdotes given in the final chapters of the gospels of Luke and John we gather that an early form of the Common Meal included fish, in the ancient world, indeed, "bread and fish" went together as familiarly as "bread and cheese" in our own times Even in the Middle Ages a tradition survived that the Lord had, at the Paschal supper, replaced the lamb by a fish, and a fish appears on the table in a picture of the Last Supper preserved in the cathedral of Salerno† In the gospel story of the feeding of the multitude with fish and bread we meet a suggestion of the sacredness of bread and fish when eaten in a religious meal The subject takes on an air of mystery when we examine the pictures in the catacombs of Rome One of these paintings represents a banquet scene, in which seven persons recline upon cushions, and before

* Apology, chap lxxi.

† Stanley, as cited, chap iii

them are arranged two plates with a fish on each, and eight baskets of cakes or buns, these cakes being marked (as may be noted in other accompanying pictures) with a cross in the manner of the modern Good Friday bun. It is usual to see in such paintings portrayals of the Eucharist as instituted by Christ. But no specially Christian features present themselves, and one strongly inclines to view the paintings as descriptive of a Pagan religious meal. A series of pictures found in the Catacombs, and undoubtedly non-Christian, relates the death and entry into paradise of the lady *Vibia*. Her pale shade is carried off by *Death*, led by *Mercury* to the judgment seat of *Dispiter* and *Abracara*, and thence conveyed by an *Angelus Bonus* (good angel) to the place of celestial banquets. One painting in the *venes* shows us seven men—"seven pious priests" the attached inscription calls them—seated at a table, on which lie crossed cakes and several plates of viands, including a fish. We may fairly infer that the bread and fish repast had a non-Christian origin, though, for a certain period it was associated with early Christianity, the fish becoming a favourite type of Jesus Christ.*

From the austere *Essenes* the New People may have learned to practise the ceremony of *Baptism*. *Menander* the Gnostic is said to have promised salvation to all who were baptised in his name. Among the Jews *Gentile converts* were required to undergo cleansing in water before they could enter the ranks of the Holy People, and the *Talmud* often refers to the baptism of proselytes †. *Justin Martyr* was much scandalised at noting that the pagans, prompted, in his opinion, by "the devils," also observed the rite, sprinkling themselves at the entrance to temples, or plunging into a purifying bath before visiting the shrines of the gods ‡. *Justin* reverently calls baptism by the name of *Illumination* and other Christian writers spoke of it as the Seal and the Mystery. But to the early Saints these

* Northcote and Brownlow's '*Poma Sotteranea*' (founded on the researches of De Rossi) part ii., chap. ii. This work contains coloured copies of the Catacomb pictures but they will be found much better printed and coloured in Palmer's '*Early Christian Symbolism*' edited by Northcote and Brownlow.

† H. Cox's '*First Century*,' chap. xv.

‡ *Apology*, chap. lxi.

terms were unknown * Impressed by the earnest appeals of a preacher, and eagerly desiring to enlist himself among the Elect, the convert would confess belief in the new doctrine, and, being led to a pool or stream, dip himself in the water, and emerge a disciple, a Saint, a sinner cleansed. Simplicity marked the rite in the early days of Christianity. A crowd of listeners to a fervid address, such as Peter's, could, on the same day, testify their faith by undergoing the sacred ceremony. A travelling eunuch, meeting a Christian missionary, became a convert to the gospel, and, in the wayside pool, washed away the errors and ignorance of the past. No special officer administered the rite. Paul laid no stress upon the privilege of baptising, he thanked God he had baptised very few of the Corinthian Saints, for, he added "Christ sent me not to baptise, but to preach the gospel." Yet he had a clear enough idea of the meaning of the baptismal water. When, he says, Israel left Egypt, they were baptised into their new life by passing under the divine overshadowing cloud, and through the Red Sea, and in the dipping of the Christian under water, and the re-arsing, he saw a symbol of burial of the old nature and birth of the new. The followers of John the Baptist often disciplined themselves by fasting. At an early date fasting preceded baptism. Here are the directions for the ceremony laid down by the Didache (vii) "Now, concerning baptism, thus baptise ye having first uttered all these things [*i.e.*, moral exhortations] baptise into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water. But if thou hast not living water, baptise in other water, and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head thrice, into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before the baptism let the baptiser and the baptised fast, and whatever others can, but the baptised thou shalt command to fast for one or two days before †

Of course prayer formed a strong feature in the religion of the New People. While the *Lord's Prayer* was soon

* Hatch's "Influence," lect. x

† Suspicion lies upon this passage as being wholly or partly an interpolation in the original version of the Didache. The same remark applies to the paragraph in the Didache on the Eucharist.

adopted into the Christian system of worship, it may not have had a Christian origin. This prayer occurs in the *Didache*, and the *Didache* was, in all likelihood, a Jewish document to begin with. "Nor pray ye," says the *Didache* (viii.), "like the hypocrites, but *as the Lord commanded in the gospel* [these words may be Christian additions], thus pray Our Father," etc. At the close of the prayer the writer enjoins "Three times in the day pray ye thus;" and we call to mind that prayer thrice daily was an ancient Jewish custom, and is referred to in the legend of Daniel. A brief examination of the prayer betrays the fact that it contains no reference to important Christian doctrines such as the Atonement, or the Messiahship of Jesus, or the Resurrection, etc. We suspect that the people who first used it had as yet worked out no clear doctrines on these points. Neither does the prayer bear marks of devotion to Hebrew ritual. Undoubtedly it comprised phrases and ideas which were household words to the Jews of the first century. Let us observe some of the elements of the prayer — "*Our Father who art in Heaven*." A passage in the Talmud runs "On whom do we rest? On our Father who is in heaven," *Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come*. A Jewish prayer known as the 'Kaddish' was the most ancient piece of devotion used in the synagogue. It was couched in the Aramaic language, and might only be recited in public. It began as follows — "May his great name be extolled and hallowed in the world which he created according to his will. May he cause his kingdom to come, etc. And, further on in the same supplication, the words occur "May the prayers and desires of Israel be received before their Father who is in heaven."* It is believed that the present Greek form of the Lord's prayer was translated from an Aramaic original † *Give us this day our daily bread*. To the great Rabbi Hillel is attributed the saying "Blessed be God every day for the daily bread which he giveth us." *Forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors*. This is a distinct echo of Eccles. xxviii. 2. 'Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall

* H. Cox's "First Century of Christianity" chap. xx.

† See F. H. Chase's "Lord's Prayer in the Early Church" Introduction.

thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest" The doxology, "*Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever,*" does not find a place in Matthew's gospel (Revised Version), though the Didache has these words "Thine is the power and the glory forever" Such upliftings of praise often gave a joyous tone to old Hebrew psalms, as in 1 Chron xxix. 11 "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty" * Whatever may be the precise history of the prayer, it stands as a token of the simple, unlearned, and earnest mode by which the New People approached their Father, God

The Saints observed sacred days. Paul, indeed, felt no such reverence, and poured reproach upon the Galatians who took pious note of days, and months, and seasons, and years But he could not help recognising differences of opinion among the brethren, and he tried to make peace among the Roman saints by permitting each man to do as he pleased "One man," he wrote (Rom xiv 5, 6), "esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let each man be fully assured in his own mind He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord." In other words, it was of no practical importance The Gospel anecdotes of the behaviour of Jesus on the Sabbath point in the same direction of liberalism A movement arose among the New People in favour of keeping another day holy besides the Sabbath They chose the *First Day* or *Kyriac* or *Lord's Day* One of the early church historians blamed the Ebionites for a double observance of the Sabbath and of the First Day as holy † For many years Christian sects disputed whether the Sabbath should be kept as a day of tranquillity and abstention from labour Some made it a day of festival after the manner of the orthodox Hebrews Others showed their dislike of the old convention by fasting on the Seventh Day Others would fast on neither day The New Testament manifestly points to a growing custom of meeting on the Kyriac for the breaking of 'the bread' or collecting subscriptions for

* The prayer is discussed in a paper in the *National Reformer*, September 27th 1891

† Bingham's "Antiquities" vol. vii., chapter on the Sabbath.

the poor But it can be positively said that no word in the New Testament indicates that the Saints regarded the First Day as a new form of the Sabbath.* When we turn to the *Didache* (xiv) we find the following reference 'On the *Kyriac* do ye assemble and break bread, and give thanks, after confessing your transgressions, in order that your sacrifice may be pure. But every one that hath controversy with his friend, let him not come together with you until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned For this is that which was spoken by the Lord At every place and time bring me a pure sacrifice, for a great King am I saith the Lord, and my name is marvellous among the nations." These last words allude to the *Yahveh* or Lord, of the Old Testament, for the text quoted comes from *Malachi* i 11-14 "In every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering, for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts for I am a great King" One cannot, then, safely assert that the *Kyriac* had any original connection with the Christ of the Gospels. It is true that the passage just quoted speaks of 'The *Kyriac* of the Lord' as if a Christian scribe, re-writing the document, and thinking the '*Kyriac*' too indefinite a term had altered it into 'the *Kyriac* of the Lord, or 'the Lord's Day of the Lord, an expression which verges on the absurd The idea forces itself upon us that the Lord's Day was sacred among the New People before they had sharply outlined their Christian gospel. Later on Pliny the magistrate told the Emperor Trajan (98-117 C.E.) that it was the custom of the Christians to meet together early in the morning before it was light on a certain fixed day ('*stato die*') and sing hymns to Christ as their God and bind themselves with a sacrament to do no evil, and afterwards to partake of a common feast. And, still later the so-called apostolic father, 'Barnabas' (xv) gave a new turn to the Lord's Day when he argued that, the old Hebrew Seventh Day being set aside, the Eighth Day assumed a peculiar sacredness both as a festival and as a commemoration of the rising of Jesus from the tomb. 'Wherefore, he says, "we keep the Eighth Day with joyfulness, the day also on which Jesus rose again from the dead." In the

* H. Cox's 'First Century' chap. xvii

middle of the second century Justin Martyr's Apology (I, chap lxvii) tells of a new development "On the day called Sun day (*hemera tou Heliou*)," he relates of the Christians, "all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits," etc. And elsewhere* he seeks to fasten a badge of inferiority on the Sabbath day by hinting that it, like other institutions, was enjoined by way of discipline for an unrighteous people. And Tertullian,† after mentioning that the Christians were accused of sun worship, and admitting that the suspicion might appear plausible in consequence of their turning eastwards in prayer, points out that, while they did, indeed, devote Sun day to rejoicing it was from a far different reason than sun worship.

From rites and observances we turn to the *Officers* of the new religion. So soon as the New People began to create their humble societies the need was felt for directors and officers. In pagan associations and institutions they could notice many models, such as the "epimeletes" (the superintendent of Mysteries, or administrator of charitable funds), or the "episkopos" (treasurer of a temple or a society, etc.)‡ Highest in respect stood the Apostles, or commissioners. The term betokened among the Jews such men as were officially despatched abroad by the Hebrew authorities, especially those who collected money from the scattered Jewish settlements for the service of the Temple§. The New Testament varies in its use of the word. It is applied to the twelve missionaries (by the first three Gospels but not by the fourth), to Barnabas and other persons who did not belong to the twelve, and, by Paul, to certain fellow Christians whom he speaks of as "the apostles of the churches"—i.e., delegates from Christian societies (1 Cor viii 23). By "prophet" Paul understood an edifier, a consolator, who sought to calm and strengthen the souls of the Saints amid their daily worries and cares and perhaps their dangers¶. Other leaders who figured in the meetings of

* "Dialogue with Trypho" xxi. † Apology xvi.

‡ E. Hatch's "Organisation of the Early Christian Churches," ii.

§ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible."

¶ For Paul's views of the functions of church leaders, etc., see 1 Cor xii xiv.

the New People were "teachers," possessors of "powers"—men, perhaps whose eloquence of speech and prayer exercised a magnetic influence over the hearers, healers—persons whose sympathy and resource specially fitted them to nurse the sick, helpers and counsellors whose advice guided the conference of committees and emergency meetings, and speakers of "tongues"—whose wild raptures, though incomprehensible to themselves and to their hearers, roused deep emotion in the assemblies and made the simple people imagine themselves as listening to the very language of heaven. The evidence of the *Didache* on these subjects is confused, and we have to bear in mind that this production is a Jewish document overlaid with Christian additions. Its references to Apostles and prophets bespeak a period of the simplest manners and organisation. The title itself "*The Teaching (Didache) of the Apostles*," denotes the moral maxims and commandments which travelling Jewish teachers taught on their religious tours before the Christian gospel was preached. Every apostle who comes to you' says the *Didache* (xi) 'let him be received as the Lord, but he shall not remain except for one day, if, however there be need then the next day, but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. But when the apostle departs, let him take nothing except bread enough till he lodge again, but if he ask money he is a false prophet. Evidently, there is here no allusion to the twelve apostles of Christian tradition. These wandering friars, or poor preachers were numerous enough to render it advisable to caution pious but unwary folk against being imposed upon. Where a prophet preached with unmistakable sincerity his audiences were forbidden to criticise but they could easily test a preacher by his conduct. Even if he should do eccentric things, which would be unseemly for others to imitate, the fact should cause no scandal so long as he acted with a view to expounding the "cosmic mystery" (or divine relations) of the Church.* At the same time, whatever might be a prophet's pretensions, his asking for money or any other gift would at once rule him out of the ranks of the genuine preachers. In a subsequent chapter of the *Didache* a paragraph appears, which somewhat sur-

* J. K. Harris in his edition of the '*Teaching*'

prises the reader by coming back to the topic of leaders (xv) "Now appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not avaricious, and upright, and proud, for they, too, render you the service of the prophets and teachers. Therefore neglect them not, for they are the ones who are honoured of you, together with the prophets and teachers." Whatever we may think of the genuineness of this passage, it confronts us with the names of two fresh orders of officials—the "episkopos" and the "diakonos." We have already noted that "episkopos" was a title current among the pagan Greeks. Only one letter of Paul mentions "bishops," and then merely in the opening address*. The other New Testament references to bishops belong to much later dates, and serve only to indicate that, with the lapse of years, the office of the episkopos had grown in importance and esteem, and even then the bishops were very little distinguished if at all, from the "presbyters"†. The function of the bishop included the distribution of the alms collected by the society of which he acted as overseer, provision for orphans and widows, and the entertaining of the Saints who, by reason of trade or driven by ill usage, journeyed from town to town, or from one country to another‡. Even so far down, however, as the time of Justin Martyr we find the leader of the meeting for receiving the Eucharist called simply "the president of the brethren;" and when the devotions concluded, the charitable peasants and artisans and merchants crowded round "the president" with their gifts for the widow, the orphan, and the stranger (Apology, 65, 67). Naturally the president needed assistance as the societies of the Saints grew in number and extent, and for this purpose "deacons" or ministers were appointed. Paul writes of himself and Apollos and other propagandists as "deacons," and their preaching work as a "diaconate." The deacons, as Justin Martyr tells us, handed round the holy cakes and wine at the Supper, and carried alms to the houses of the

* Phil. 1:1. Good reasons exist for regarding the Epistles to Timothy, and Titus (which speak of bishops) as not the work of Paul.

† H. Cox's "First Century" chap. xiii. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," Kurtz's "Church History," vol. 1, sect. 17.

‡ Hatch's "Influence," 11.

needy Women, such as Phœbe the deaconess, aided in these errands of mercy. When ritual developed among the Christian societies, it became the custom to appoint deacons by a public and solemn laying-on of hands.

We may pause for a moment to look back upon the figures—shadowy at the best—of the New People who created the Christian gospel. We observe dimly the emergence of a sect who gradually broke away from Jewish orthodoxy and the traditions of the Hebrew Torah, who gathered adherents from the lowly classes, from rustics, craftsmen, fishermen, and the like, who, as the Saints the Elect, as Minutans, Nazarenes, Baptists, and Ebionites, formed small revivalist clubs and associations, who assembled in retired chambers for prayer, praise, preaching, the utterance of "tongues," the partaking of a fraternal meal, who baptised converts, who counted the Kyrie or First-day holy, who provided by common subscription for the widows and fatherless and destitute members of their community, and who looked up with affection and respect, but without exaggerated reverence, to the apostles and prophets who tramped from place to place, teaching a simple ethic and an undogmatic religion. Their moral and religious ideas we must draw from the New Testament and other literature.

Before dealing with the personality and writings of Paul and the gospel history of Jesus, we may glance at the biography of a notorious prophet whose career throws a singular sidelight on the religious conditions amid which the faith of the New People arose and extended.

5. *Apollonius of Tyana.*—In the sixth century B.C. the teacher Pythagoras travelled to Egypt and elsewhere in search of religious, ethical, and scientific knowledge, preached a gospel of plain living and deep contemplation, and founded a moral settlement or church in Southern Italy. His followers had a passion for arithmetic and geometry, in numbers they read the keys of the universe, they believed in the transmigration of the soul from body to body until it attained holiness, they taught reverence towards gods and parents, justice, gentleness, temperance, prayer, careful self-examination, and simplicity of food, dress, and habits. His philosophy, modified by mystical

doctrines drawn from such writers as Plato, found disciples, at the beginning of the Christian era, in the Neo-Pythagoreans, or New Pythagoreans. Of these Apollonius furnishes a remarkable type. The true personality of Apollonius has to be sifted out from the romantic biography written by Philostratus at the opening of the third century, C.E., for the amusement of the Empress Julia, wife of Severus. The story had a certain amount of reality for its basis, the rest is legend. Born at Tyana, in Cappadocia, and schooled at Tarsus on the banks of the placid Cydnus, he, as a youth, spent much time at the temple of Æsculapius, at Æge near Tarsus. Thither crowds of maimed and diseased folk streamed for aid and healing from the priests, who used the divine oracle as a means of medical advice. Perhaps the scenes he witnessed suggested the value of an ascetic life. He ate only fruit and vegetables, abjured wine, went barefoot, clothed himself in linen, bathed often in cold water, and let his hair hang long over his shoulders. "I shall live," he said, "after the manner of Pythagoras." Each morning he made obeisance to the rising sun. Five years (such was the Pythagorean rule) he passed in silence. Sometimes he would push in among the vulgar throng at a circus or pantomime, and, with stern uplifted hand, awe the mob into stillness. Once this dumb monitor found a city in tears because of a famine. Learning that the dearth was produced by a few dealers hoarding up the corn, he wrote publicly on a tablet, "Apollonius to the monopolisers of corn in Aspendus greeting. The earth is the common mother of all, for she is just. You are unjust, for you have made her only the mother of yourselves, and if you will not cease from acting thus, I will not suffer you to remain upon her." The terrified dealers filled the market with grain, and the city rejoiced. With Greek priests he discoursed on the nature of God. To the disciples of more barbaric religions he gave hints for the refinement of their worship. His language was lofty and emphatic, he did not argue, he spoke as with authority. With seven disciples he set out for the East, and, at Nineveh, met Damis, who accompanied with him during a great part of his career. He learned the art of augury, or foretelling the future by inspection of the entrails of birds. Even the language of birds he acquired—a legendary detail which may point to

his quick observation of the animal world. From the splendours of the King of Babylon's court he journeyed on to India where he conversed with the sages, or Brahmans. The narratives of his eastern travels are adorned with anecdotes of the marvellous, and with lively dialogues with native princes and philosophers. Of all this nothing may be true except that Apollonius travelled in the east, and that he derived some of his speculations from Indian and Zoroastrian sources. We have already seen that some such influence had leavened the doctrines of the Jewish Essenes * On his return to the west he continued to make tours from Ephesus to Troy, from Troy to Greece, Crete, Rome, etc. At Athens, being suspected of strange and magical doctrines he was forbidden to take part in the Mysteries. Popular folly credited him with supernatural powers. He drove the plague from Ephesus. A dead bride was raised from her bier by his whisper. He expelled a demon from an effeminate and g gling fop, the evil spirit breaking out into imprecations before the fixed glance of the prophet, and then on its expulsion smashing a statue to pieces amid the shouts of the awe-struck people. With his pretensions to wonder working Apollonius joined a shrewd manner of address. When the citizens of Smyrna suffered from dissension Apollonius counselled them to try the effect of "discordant concord" in other words, to use argument and discussion only as a means of arriving at harmonious action as in a ship where the crew performed various duties with the common object of navigating the vessel smoothly. At Alexandria he met the new made emperor Vespasian who revered him as an oracle and astrologer. The populace showed him extreme respect, though he roundly rebuked them for their turbulence and quarrels at the horse-races, just as, at Athens, he had reproached the people for crowding to see the combats of paid gladiators, and refused to enter the theatre, saying the place was impure and polluted with blood. A voyage up the Nile gives the biographer a pretence for introducing a number of dubious travellers tales. On a charge of sedition the Emperor Domitian lodged Apollonius in a Roman gaol. From the public tribunal he vanished, so says the

* Vol. II. sect. 22.

legend, and at Ephesus saw a vision of the Emperor's murder by the dagger of Stephanus, the hour of the vision corresponding with the actual event (96 C E) The old Pythagorean died at Ephesus, though "some say he entered the temple of Minerva at Lindus, and there disappeared" A temple at Tyana testified to the honour in which his native land held his memory

From the romance of Philostratus we can conjecture the character of Apollonius as that of an ascetic travelling philosopher, who enjoined simplicity of life, addressed moral precepts to the people, preached against bloodshed, and perhaps did not disdain to encourage the rumour that his wisdom and his medical skill were due to miraculous agency *

6 Paul.†—The city of Tarsus is nowhere named in the Pauline Epistles, or elsewhere in the New Testament, except the book of Acts. But the tradition which makes that city the birthplace of Paul does not conflict with probability Past the city floated timber rafts from the Taurus mountains From the hair of the goats which fed on the hills near by the citizens made "cilicium," a kind of tent-cloth Between Tarsus and Tyana ran the rocky pass of the Cilician gates The city had an oracle of Apollo, and the god's gleaming sword hung in the temple A mile or two distant, in the town of Anchiale, a statue of Sardanapalus (really the sun god Sandan) bore on its pedestal the inscription "Eat, drink, and make merry, with this there is naught else to compare" With phallic revels and a great bonfire, in which the symbolic effigy of the "King of the Feast" was burned, the Tarsians every year celebrated the rites of the Sun-god Both from these noisy festivities and from the colleges of Sophists which overlooked the Cydnus the inhabitants of the Jewish quarter held grimly aloof And here, at the time when Apollonius played his part as a barefooted preacher, the boy Paul ran about the streets Little Greek

* The life of Apollonius was translated from the Greek of Philostratus in 1809 by the Rev E Berwick The book affords a very entertaining picture of manners and opinions in the Roman Empire in the early Christian era

† Besides the other authorities which will be mentioned vols iii and iv of A Hausrath's *Time of the Apostles* may be singled out for special excellence in connection with the subject of Paul

lore did he learn. His epistles were afterwards penned in big sprawling handwriting. A Benjamite, a Hebrew of the Hebrews—Harrisism permeated his blood. But the lad looked eagerly out upon the Greek world, and his after writings drew figures of speech from the city drill-ground, the armoury, the theatre. When the citizens met in public council, and Paul heard the meeting spoken of as the "Ekklesia" he picked up a word which afterwards became familiar enough to Christian ears. He knew the Hebrew scriptures, the Septuagint, the Book of Wisdom. Rabbinic lore coloured his view of the Old Testament history. Following the Rabbis, who affirmed that the Adam of Genesis i differed from the Adam of Genesis ii (i.e. in the two accounts of the creation) he saw in the first Adam a living soul clad with earth, in the second Adam a life giving and heavenly spirit, he imagined that the rock whence Moses drew water glided after the Hebrews during their wilderness journeys. From the Rabbis he inherited a far fetched and allegorical style of explaining the Scriptures. When Canaan was promised to Abraham and his "seed," the "seed" meant Christ. The rival women Sarah and Hagar, denoted the old Jewish order and the new Christian order, when Abraham's belief in God's promise received the divine approval (it was counted unto him for righteousness) the doctrine of imputed righteousness through Jesus Christ was foreshadowed, the Passover lamb signified Christ the dough bread which the women swept out of the houses at the approach of the feast typified malice and wickedness. Such ideas remind us of the speculations of Philo*. The letters written by Paul yield evidence that he had undergone training as a lawyer—that is, an expert in the Torah and its interpretation. The doctrine of Justification displays a legal covenant between the repentant evil doer and the offended Creator. In token of his intention to forgive the past, God gives believers the "arrabon" the earnest money—that is to say the spiritual conviction that pardon is theirs in reality (2 Cor i 22). The old Judaic system is a cold but necessary guardianship or heirship under restriction which in the ripeness of time and the majority of the human soul melts into the large liberty of

* Vol II of this History last section

Christian manhood This liberty belongs to the Saints by right of inheritance, a right founded on the long ago promise of God to Abraham It is true that, four hundred and fifty years afterwards, the law of Moses was imposed, but the covenant still held good, the Mosaic system was but a series of temporary by laws 'added because of transgressions,' and in no way disannulling the original compact Elsewhere he uses a legal figure to describe the perfect right of the Elect to break off relations with Hebrew law just as a woman whose husband dies is free to marry again, so the New People, on the passing away of the old order, are free to ally themselves to the Christ Yet lawyer and Pharisee as he was, Paul's temper carried him a step further "I advanced" he says, in a fragment of autobiography, "in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous (*zelotes*) for the traditions of my fathers—in other words he was a thoroughgoing Zealot With an additional measure of fanaticism, he would have joined the Daggermen the Sicarii As it was he became an inquisitor and persecutor

At the time of his propaganda he appears to have been a widower His allusions to nursing and feeding of children, and the labour pangs of women suggest married experience His advice "I say, therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I" gives us a gentle hint of a wife's grave If he had much Rabbinic learning, he had little gold Even on his preaching tours he sometimes laboured night and day for a scanty wage His self deprecation, his reference to the difference between his imperious letters and his weak bodily presence, call up the image of a small, unimpressive nervous man, who, nevertheless when he let his soul loose in exhortation, appeal, rhapsody, held men and women as in a magnetic grip Sickness often laid him low Trembling and groaning he felt his body to be a burden the centre of pains and passions, of contending powers, of demonic attack Incessantly he suffered from a thorn in the flesh a 'messenger of Satan—perhaps acute spasms of the heart or epileptic convulsions Joy, grief confidence, depression tenderness, anger chased each other in a wild dance through his restless bosom Rapid vehement, irregular, the stream of his individuality splashes along—"I thank my God," "I

beseech you;" "we are fools;" "we are the garbage of the world," "shall I come unto you with a rod?" "I say, I think, what say I then?" "I praise you;" "I am afraid of you;" "I rejoice," "we despaired even of life;" "before God I lie not;" "I marvel;" "I have great sorrow and unceasing pain," "O wretched man that I am!" "Thanks be to God who gives us the victory!" If he could descend to the hell of remorse and self-condemnation, he could also rise towards the very throne of God, and his soul could scale the mystic ladder till, in a whirl and tempest of rapture, it fluttered into the Third Heaven, and saw unspeakable things, of which, in all his travels by busy city or upland hamlet, he might never dare to breathe a word.

From Paul's own evidence, as derived from his correspondence with Christian societies, it would be difficult to prove that he had ever seen Jerusalem before he adopted the Christian Way. He nowhere refers to his education as having been conducted in that city. He tells the Galatian Saints that, after his conversion, he did not approach Jerusalem for three years, then paid a flying visit to the Jewish capital, and then travelled elsewhere, remaining, all the time, unknown by face to the Christian associations in Judæa. Add to this that he never names John the Baptist, never alludes to any personal knowledge of Jesus of Nazareth, never (except with respect to the Supper) repeats any details of the Master's life, and never mentions the name of Stephen, at whose martyrdom the book of Acts affirms that he assisted, and we are led to think that no close tie, if any, bound Paul to Jerusalem and Judæa. According to a speech of his reported in the Acts, he received his religious training in Jerusalem in the college of the famous Rabbi Gamaliel. In Paul's epistles the name of Gamaliel never occurs. And what was Gamaliel's character? He upheld the principles of the gentle and liberal Hillel.* He condemned a too rigid care for the payment of tithes, advocated easier terms of divorce and re-marrriage, interpreted with mildness the rule as to Sabbath journeys, permitted the Gentile peasant to glean in the fields of Hebrews, allowed Jews to salute idolaters, and numbered himself with the party who stood friends with Herod

* For Hillel see vol. II of this 'History,' p. 124.

Agrippa II, and with Rome. The Zealots fought fiercely against such doctrines and practices, and Paul, before joining the Christian ranks, was a Zealot*.

Whether Paul persecuted the New People at Jerusalem or not, he certainly did so in other places. "Ye heard," he says to the Galatians, "of my manner of life in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God, and made havoc of it." This need not mean persecution on a large scale. As he travelled from town to town—for Paul had a natural love for change of scene—eager to obtain from this and that Rabbi or college some new light on the holy Torah, some fresh insight into the divine meaning of the law, some satisfying indication of the aim and purpose of God amid all the complex provisions of the legal code, he met with surprise and misgiving these clubs of the New People. Their easy attitude towards the Mosaic Law, their indifference to Rabbinic disquisitions on tithes, Sabbaths, sacrifices, purifications, festivals, vows, ritual, the simplicity and independence of their moral teaching, which made them independent of the schools, and dispensed with the laborious learning of the scribes—all this astonished him, puzzled him, irritated him. Pagans and idolaters he could have endured, but these homely people, whose religious earnestness and ethics were so much akin to his own, and yet whose theory of life so far differed from the doctrines he had learned to venerate, struck into his heart a cold and sickening doubt. What, after all if he had wrongly interpreted the Law and the Prophets? What, after all if God did not intend the Law to lead up to a splendid, but heavy, system of rite and observance and theological scholasticism but to a divine republic, in which all men might enjoy moral freedom, and, by direct spiritual intercourse with God know for themselves the law of the righteous life? What, after all, if neither a multitude of priests nor a labyrinth of Targums and Halachah and Haggadah† stood between God and the

* Ha'arah accretions as probable the account in Acts of Paul's residence in Jerusalem at the time of Stephen's death. I do not advance my view with dogmatism but the more closely I read Paul's letters especially the Galatian letter, the more I distrust the Acts. The latter book will be dealt with later.

† See vol. II of this "History" sections 21 and 22.

soul, and no medium was required but some holy Son of Man or Son of God who should form a perfect link between heaven and earth? Paul wrestled fiercely with such doubts, and sought to quiet his perplexities by breaking up the prayer meetings of the Saints, insulting their peasant prophets, their artisan apostles, their plebeian deacons. Uproar and dismay ruled the humble conventicles. Under the shadow of this devout Zealot hymns were silenced, love-feasts discontinued, alms uncollected. But in the pale faces of the Saints he read a piety, a whole-heartedness, a sincerity that touched his inner heart. He had not long begun to harry the New People before he felt that he was striking at his own kin. In them, as in himself, religious passion had an essentially greater strength than religious form. Why did he love the Torah except as a way by which he could reach to God? And if these unpretending "Hosios," these inoffensive Saints, these unlearned club-people had discovered the divine secret, what then? The appealing eyes, the outstretched hands, the reproaches, the tears of the working folk whose assemblies he and his Jewish companions dispersed (there is no reason to suppose he shed blood) left a deep-cut impression on his sensitive imagination. He paused, he reflected, he brooded. And at length the figures of the imploring Saints took transfused shape in his excited brain, and, wrapt in ecstasy, he conceived himself as raised to the third heaven, where the bright Son of God, the crucified Master of the Saints, confronted him in a vision that seemed reality, and the voice of God bade him go and carry to the wide world of the Gentiles the tidings of a redemption that knew no Temple and no Torah.

Paul's individuality was self-sufficing. He cared nothing for co-operation, for conferences, for committees, for formal preliminaries, for diplomatic measures. At Jerusalem as he had heard, a large society of the New People existed, with presidents or apostles of some influence. Not for a moment did he dream of asking their advice, of begging for their letters of recommendation, or of applying to them for any information whatever. He had a gospel of his own, and he would preach it always, in fact, he laughed to scorn any suggestion that he held a commission from Jerusalem. His own words give the clearest proof of his independence. The

doctrine he preached was "my gospel" (*Romans ii 16*) "I make known to you brethren," he writes years afterwards to his Galatian friends 'as touching the gospel which was preached by me, that it is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ. When it was the good pleasure of God who separated me, even from my mother's womb and called me through his grace to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood neither went I up to Jerusalem to them who were apostles before me, but I went away into Arabia. In mountain solitude or among the scattered pastures of the east Jordan land, he had time to muse and to map out his new course. And again, as Paul narrates "I returned unto Damascus. Legend therefore, has rightly placed the scene of his conversion near that city. Damascus lay in the territory of Aretas the Arabian king. It contained a large Jewish quarter, over which presided an ethnarch. Paul openly declared for the teaching of the New People, and scandalised the Ghetto by avowing his faith in the crucified Jesus as the Lord of Glory and inaugurator of the gospel of moral liberty. A Babel of debate followed—shouts execrations, curses. A circle of friends already surrounded Paul. They hurried him into concealment. Marked down as a troublesome agitator, he was named for arrest and watched for at the gates. A window that overlooked the city wall a rope, a basket and a midnight descent and escape furnish the picturesque elements of one of the autobiographical passages in Paul's correspondence (2 Cor xi 32-33). Three years elapsed before Paul ventured to Jerusalem. His purpose was to make the acquaintance of Cephas (Peter) with whom he stayed fifteen days. Of other leaders of the settlement of Saints in the city he saw none except James the Lord's brother. Close readers of Paul's epistles* can scarcely avoid the inference that whatever communication passed between Paul and Cephas no working basis of agreement was arrived at. Their views of the mission of Jesus were separated by a great chasm of thought and temper. Paul felt

* By Paul's Epistles we understand *Romans i* and *2 Cor Galatians Philippians i Thess* and *Philemon*

no necessity for gathering from the society at Jerusalem any particulars of the life of the Jesus whom he had never personally known, for his letters betray no concern on the subject of such details. Jerusalem had no attractions for him. He quitted it without regret, and saw it no more for fourteen years. If his conversion (as usually stated) took place in 36 C.E., and his brief visit to Peter in 39 the fourteen years will expire in 53, not long before the death of the emperor Claudius and the enthronement of Nero. Of his movements during this period Paul says only that he spent his time *preaching in the regions of Syria and Cilicia*, adding that, though the Churches in Judæa knew him not by sight, they rejoiced at the change in the former persecutor of the New People.

With the curt sketch of his career up to the journey to Jerusalem in, say, 53 we may compare the singularly divergent account in the book of Acts. We must bear in mind that Paul makes no reference to his alleged residence as a young man in Jerusalem, and we must remember that his Zealot opinions clashed with the lenient doctrine of Gamaliel. Turning to Acts, we draw from that work the following summary. Paul was educated in the college of Gamaliel, the mob leaders who slew Stephen were encouraged by Saul, who was subsequently known as Paul, he imprisoned many of the Saints in Judæa, he saw the risen Jesus near Damascus, whither he had been dispatched by the High priest, he remained in Damascus to debate with the Jews, after "many days" he escaped in a basket, he went to Jerusalem and "assayed to join himself to the disciples, and they were all afraid of him" but Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles and he was with them going in and going out at Jerusalem, preaching boldly in the name of the Lord, and he spake and disputed against the Hellenist Jews but they went about to kill him. And when the brethren knew it, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus; * from Tarsus he was brought† to Antioch, where the term Christians came into vogue,†

* The idea of anybody 'bringing' Paul from place to place is quite alien to the impression we get from the epistles of Paul's vigorous self-directing character.

† Paul never uses the word and we have seen (p. 19) how it was in some confused manner connected with the term *Christians*.

he and Barnabas brought subscriptions for the poor to Jerusalem, he made a propagandist tour through Cyprus, Pamphilia, and Pisidia, and returned to Antioch.

In these two accounts the main differences relate to (1) Paul's behaviour at his first visit to Jerusalem, (2) the number of visits to Jerusalem, Paul himself saying nothing about the journey with Barnabas for the conveyance of subscriptions. Since we must needs choose between the authority of Paul and that of the Acts, we prefer Paul.

It appears probable that the epistle to the Galatians was addressed to the Christian societies in the southern portion of the Roman province of Galatia, this would include the cities Antioch, Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, in which "Acts" represents Paul as preaching while Galatia proper, with its Keltic inhabitants lay farther north*. This southern Galatia may be embraced in what Paul describes as the region of Cilicia. Like the rest of Asia Minor, the country distinguished itself by religious fervour by easy belief in wonder workers. The worship of the Roman emperors had a great vogue. Apollonius of Tyana flourished on its soil. Old nature-gods still received honour—Lunus Attes (Sabazius) or the waxing and waning moon and Rhea Cybele, goddess of the passing seasons. At the spring festival of these deities the priests self mutilated, danced to the noise of cymbals and kettle drums, of pipes and horns. At other times religious fanatics rushed over hills and through glens raising the sacred cry of "ululatus." With all this, the southern Galatians had a reputation for hospitality and good nature for unclean revelry and outbreaks of hot passion. Numerous Jewish settlements gave variety to the prevailing religious enthusiasm.

We return to Paul's own story of his movements (Gal ii.) "After the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas taking Titus also with me. Why did he go there? His object was to parley with and to warn the Jewish school of the New People. He feared lest their influence should overturn all the propagandist work he had carried on in Syria and Asia Minor. They held to the

* So I enan in St Paul chap. i. Hausrath's "Apostles," vol. III. and W. M. Ramsay's "Church in the Roman Empire."

Law, he stood for Liberty. They demanded Circumcision, he regarded all rites as unessential. His Greek companion, Titus, had been frowned upon as an interloper, he had never felt the knife of circumcision. Paul flouted every hint at compliance, and Titus remained uncircumcised. With the chief Saints of the Ebionite Church of Jerusalem Paul held a conference which was not too amicable, nor did he learn a single new doctrine from James, Cephas, John, and the rest. "From those who were reputed to be somewhat," he writes bluntly, "(whatsoever they were, it makes no matter to me, God accepts not man's person), they, I say, who were of repute imparted nothing to me, but, contrariwise, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with the gospel of the circumcision (for he that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles), and when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James, and Cephas, and John, they who were reputed to be pillars gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship that we should go unto the Gentiles and they unto the circumcision. Only they wished that we should remember the poor, which very thing I was also zealous to do." The 'fellowship' was mere hollow politeness. Paul returned to Antioch, whither Cephas followed. At the love-feasts of the Brethren Cephas at first fraternally assisted. A deputation of strict Jewish Saints arrived, and Cephas timidly withdrew from the Gentile meetings. Barnabas also seceded. Paul's anger flamed out in a reproachful speech. "If," he cried, "you are sometimes willing to live as a Gentile, why do you expect Gentiles to live as Jews? We Jews found out that not through the Law, but by faith in Jesus Christ, we might be made just before God. If we are mistaken, then it was an error to put aside the Hebrew Law, and we make Christ himself a deacon and assistant in our error. But God forbid such an idea! I have done with the Law, I have died to it, I have been crucified with Christ, and now live again, my life merged in the life of the Son of God, who gave himself up to death for me. But if we can attain

* I freely paraphrase the passage Gal ii 14-21 as the text is peculiarly obscure

righteousness by complying with the precepts of the Torah, then Christ's death was useless.' On the subject of this striking and important scene at Antioch the author of 'Acts' is silent—a fact in itself sufficient to deprive him of our confidence.

This conflict was not a breach for there had existed no previous union. The universalist Paul never made compact with the narrow Ebionites and Nazarenes of Judæa. Each gospel had its advantages. The Jewish school gained support from the people who looked with affection upon old forms and traditions and it grew on the soil where the ethics of the Jesus legend first took popular shape. Paul swept in disciples from a large Gentile area, drew over devotees from many pagan temples, threw open a religion that knew no compulsory ritual and he displayed a Christ whose moral ty had a world wide significance, whose character bore no marks of Hebrew mannerism and no signs of local sentiment.

For some eleven years longer Paul carried this liberal doctrine from province to province of the Empire—to Ephesus, to Greece to Macedonia to the Illyrian sea cliffs, and to Italy and he dreamed of gospel conquests in Spain. To the unwilling Jews of the Diaspora to literary men and sophists to dock labourers and weavers in close attics and in amphitheatres on sea shores and on ships in rustic village and in imperial Rome, the missionary tirelessly spent his energy for the New Movement. With an extraordinary blending of nervous modesty and proud selfassertion he contrasts himself with rival propagandists — Yet wherein soever any is bold (I speak in foolishness) I am bold also. Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they the descendants of Abraham? So am I. Are they deacons of Christ? (I speak as one out of his mind) I am more in labours more abundantly in prisons more abundantly in stripes above measure in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I thirty nine stripes. Thrice was I beaten with rods once was I stoned thrice I suffered shipwreck a night and a day have I been in the sea in journeyings often in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils from my countrymen in perils from the Gentiles in perils in the city in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea in perils among false brethren in labour and

toil, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. And, besides these extra hardships, there presses upon me a daily anxiety for all the Churches" (2 Cor xi). So far as the biography of Paul in the book of Acts tallies with this vivid picture of the propagandist's efforts, it has a certain value. We can, for example, readily accept as possible events the stories of Paul being stoned at Lystra his imprisonment in the city gaol at Philippi, the assault of a Thessalonian rabble on the doors of Jason's house where Paul lodged, the humorous indifference of Gallio towards the irate Jews who accused Paul of heresy, the riot of the silversmiths the tearful farewell to the elders of Ephesus, the uproar in Jerusalem after Paul's speech from the castle steps, and the adventurous voyage to Malta.

We may now take a summary view of the extant remains of Paul's correspondence. The first letter in point of time may have been that to the *Thessalonians* (about 53 or 54 C.E.) Thessalonica—populous, rich, commercial—stood on a gulf of the Aegean Sea, and within sight of the snow-crowned Olympus. Paul had preached there under much stress, labouring after dark as well as by day, in order to pay his way, and gratefully accepting parcels of gifts from the Saints at Philippi. He had conceived a warm affection for the little society of the 'Hosioi'. When he reached Athens, in continuation of his tour, he sent back his companion Timothy to give his brotherly greetings to the disciples. Timothy afterwards rejoined Paul at Corinth, and, having listened with eager interest to his friend's account of what had passed at Thessalonica, Paul wrote a letter, in the name of himself, Silvanus and Timothy. Did he write the letter just as it now stands in the form of 1 *Thessalonians*? Ample cause for doubt exists though some passages in the document have a clear Pauline ring such as his thankfulness for the loyalty of the Saints to the gospel—"ye became imitators of us and of the Lord having received the word in much affliction with joy of the Holy Spirit, his tenderness and solicitude—"we were well pleased to impart unto you not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were become very dear unto us;" the allusion to his industry at his craft, his desire to meet the Brethren again "night and day praying exceedingly to see your face;" the exhortation to mutual love and quiet attention to daily

work. But we feel repelled by other passages which have strange harshness and menace in them, such as this concerning the Jews "Ye, brethren, became imitators of the Churches of God which are in Judæa in Christ Jesus, for ye also suffered the same things of your own countrymen, even as they did of the Jews, who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove out us, and please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved, to fill up their sins always, but the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost" It was not Paul's wont thus to revile the Jews, the "wrath" seems to point to the destruction of Jerusalem which did not happen till 70, Paul was not driven out of Judæa, he had no great admiration, as we have already learned, for the Ebionite Church in Jerusalem, and he had, in the opening of the epistle, commended the Thessalonian Saints for "imitating" himself. Another paragraph which has occasioned suspicion, perhaps not quite justly, touches on the resurrection. In this Paul consoles the Believers who had lost friends in death. They would, he gives assurance, rise again like Jesus. At the clang of a heavenly trumpet, at the cry of an archangel, the Lord would descend from heaven, and the risen dead would join the living Saints in an upward flight to the divine cloudland*.

A few years later (about 57-8)† Paul, while dwelling at Ephesus, wrote a very characteristic letter to the Christian society at Corinth. 'The light of Greece' Cicero had called this gay city on the Isthmus, renowned for its games. The population was mixed sailors and merchants of many nationalities elbowing each other in the busy streets. The temple of Venus, with a thousand harlots, invited the strolling mariners. Colleges of philosophy drew attention to more serious concerns. The Hebrew quarter, with its synagogue, stood as witness for the sternest piety. Hard by Corinth lay the port of Kenchræa, where the Egyptian Isis had a shrine. In these populous centres Paul had preached,

* Davidson's "Introduction to the New Testament" vol. i. Baur, in his "Paul" rejects both the epistles to the Thessalonians as un-Pauline (vol. ii and Appendix) and he even affirms the first epistle to be based upon the second.

† So Davidson. Baur makes the Galatian epistle come first, and Hausrath dates 1 Cor. in the year 53.

exhorted and edified. After him had come the silver-tongued Apollos. While Paul dwelt at Ephesus he received a letter from the Corinthian Christians, asking counsel on various points—the propriety of eating food which had passed through heathen temples, the relations of the sexes, etc. He had also an opportunity of hearing, through three Corinthian visitors—Fortunatus, Stephanas, and Achaicus—how lamentably the members of the society at Corinth had split up into warring sects. Hence this *First* (extant) *Epistle*. Four main subjects are dealt with. (1) The strife of parties. “I,” one of the Saints would exclaim—“I am a Paul’s man;” another “I of Apollos;” a third, “I of Cephas;” a fourth, “I of Christ”—a distinct proof that the Christian doctrine had as yet attained no consolidation. Paul urges two pleas against this tumult of tongues. The first plea is that the gospel should be placed above the preachers. Paul, Cephas, Apollo—who are these but humble deacons, planting, watering, watching, but all subordinate to the overlordship of God? Paul had not even presumed to baptise more than half a dozen members of the church. The second plea is, that the gospel should not be made a subject of learned discussion and ingenious *pro* and *con*. In the nature of the case Christ crucified must be a stumbling block to Gentile wit and science, and the wisdom of God revealed itself not to opulent traders or erudite grammarians, but to artisans, unskilled labourers, porters, slaves and people of no social account. And yet their riches were infinite. “All things are yours, Paul, Apollos, Cephas, the world, life, death, things past and future, all are yours, and ye are Christ’s and Christ is God’s.” (2) Private and miscellaneous questions. Paul indignantly demanded the casting out of a member of the Christian group who incestuously lived with his father’s wife. Such loathsome leaven must be expelled and replaced by the wholesome bread of a moral life, and dissolute people must be avoided, and money-grabbers and idolaters. A Christian may not visit brothels, for his body is the temple of the Holy Spirit. Nor may he go to law with another Saint. On the whole, Paul judges it good for men and women to ignore the sexual function, but, human nature being what it is, he allows the seemliness and expediency of marriage. The problem evidently had only a minor interest for him. It was a time of anxious

waying for the world would soon dissolve Let be, let be
 Let the circumcised not repent his obedience to the rite,
 let the uncircumcised remain so, let the slave care not for
 his bondage for he was Christ's freeman, let the freeman
 consider himself Christ's bondman Married or unmarried
 bond or free—it mattered little And so with the question
 of food which had been offered in the temples and then
 exposed for sale in the market The Saints might eat it
 without scruple, but, if any of them noticed that the act
 gave pain to a neighbour, let him abstain from such food
 All such details of conduct must be subdued to the great
 purpose of promoting union among the Hosios Paul
 cited his own example he had a perfect right to ask for
 the means of maintenance but sooner than cause dispute
 he forbore (3) Public manners Women who discarded
 their Oriental veils, and thus excited lustful thoughts even
 among the unseen angels Paul roundly condemned
 Neither might the women sneak at meetings they could

a living germ, which realised itself in a new and beautiful form, so, also, the vile corpse would rise in a glorious figure when the trump of heaven gave the signal, and death would vanish before victorious life. With this eloquent description the letter closes, a few postscripts reminding the Saints of their duty to collect alms for the poor Ebionite brethren in Jerusalem, making a friendly allusion to Apollos, etc.

Not long after the despatch of this epistle (1 Cor) Paul found himself compelled to write a *Letter of Self-defence* (2 Cor x-xiii). This letter has been, by mistake, attached to the so-called second epistle, and now, after modifications, forms the four last chapters. The chief reason for the conjecture is that, following upon the mild and approving tone of the preceding chapters, this latter portion breaks in with unexpected sternness and combativeness. The Corinthians had not patched up their quarrels. Some of the Saints sarcastically compared Paul's resounding letters with his unimposing presence and power of speech. Perhaps the Ephesian friends had sent a remonstrance, and Paul's present letter was added, for he begins thus (2 Cor x. 1) "Now, I Paul myself entreat you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, I who in your presence am lowly among you but being absent am of good courage—an ironical allusion to the gibes of his opponents. And then he proceeds to a passionate apology for his apostleship, recounting his sufferings, and difficulties, and hairbreadth escapes, his divine visions, his bodily sicknesses, his diligence in maintaining himself (for which he satirically begs their pardon), sneering at the false apostles who tried to conceal a jealous and backbiting disposition under a semblance of holy zeal hunting that he was prepared for sharp and stringent dealing with such enemies, and nevertheless, winding up with an appeal for peace and the kiss of charity*.

A certain sadness manifests itself occasionally in the (so-called) *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (2 Cor 1 to ix.) Not that he had much to complain of on the part of the Corinthian Saints. His last letter had roused them to sorrow and self reproach, one member, especially, had keenly felt

* Hausrath and Davidson treat chaps. x. xiii as above indicated. This section certainly differs from the rest of 2 Cor—that is the main point, its exact chronological position is of less consequence.

Paul's language, but some decent measure of reform seems to have purified the society. Nor did he mind the taunt of sickness aimed at him because he had not kept his promise of visiting Corinth on his way into Macedonia. His health had undoubtedly suffered. Some startling adventure had endangered his life (perhaps a contest with wild beasts at Ephesus 1 Cor xi 32), depression weighed upon his spirits, he had longed for intercourse with his genial friend Titus, but could not effect a meeting, his gospel treasure, he confessed, was held in a weak earthen vessel, the outward man decayed, and sometimes he earnestly desired to die. At the same time hope buoyed up the fainting heart. He could look into the glory of God's truth, and reflect it as from a mirror, he could foresee an eternal recompense for affliction, a divine reward which awaited him at the judgment seat of Christ, for in Christ a man became a new being: the world's trespasses had passed away with Christ's death and God was reconciled to man. Finally, he appeals again for subscriptions for the Jerusalem poor.*

To this period may belong a fragment of a letter which, by some error has been placed at the end of the epistle to the Romans, of which it occupies chapter xvi verses 1 to 20. Here we find a list of salutations addressed to familiar and friendly persons. As Paul, at the time of the despatch of his letter to Rome, had never visited that city, it is improbable that he could have intimately known so many of the Roman Saints. Again Paul salutes Aquila and Prisca, who had been banished from Rome and they were at Ephesus when Paul wrote to the Corinthians. It is worthy of note that Origen accuses the heretic Marcion of cutting off the last two chapters of the epistle to the Romans, and this may simply mean that Marcion's copy never contained these chapters. We may regard this document, then (xvi 1-20) as a *Fragment of a letter to the Ephesians* in which by way of adieu Paul greets Prisca and Aquila, who had risked their lives for his sake, Epeneus, who was the first man in Asia (Western Asia Minor) to join the New People. Andronicus and Junias

The passage 2 Cor v 14 to v 1 appears to be an interpolation, which strikes the connection.

his kinsmen and 'fellow prisoners' (at what place is unknown) and others. A thoughtful note begs the Saints to give a kind reception to the helpful deaconess, Phœbe of Kenchrea.*

The old fire and force resume their activity in the letter to the *Galatians* (about 58) of the hill-country which verged towards the Mediterranean and bordered upon Paul's native Cilicia. The mobile and impressionable character of the Galatians has been already glanced at† News reached Paul that here, as at Corinth, sad lapses from his high standard had taken place, chiefly through the propaganda of Saints of the Ebionite school. The Galatian converts had been smitten with a Hebrew infatuation, they kept the Sabbath they circumcised themselves, they observed fast days and festivals, and devoutly celebrated the Sabbatical year. Paul regarded this new departure with disgust. He was angry with the ritualistic mummery and he was wounded to the quick by the insinuations lately spread abroad that he held a very inferior title to apostleship. First, then he briefly tells the story of his past life, his call to the gospel, his independence of Jerusalem his contest with Cephas, and then he turns upon the backsliders. 'O senseless Galatians, who did bewitch you before whose eyes Jesus Christ was vividly set forth crucified?' He had called them to freedom, to faith and unfettered life in the Spirit. The Law had for the New People no reason for existence. The Law acted as tutor guardian schoolmaster to the Jewish mind. Before the Law uttered itself to Moses on Sinai the principle of moral liberty through faith had been established in the case of Abraham, he believed God's promise, and that loyalty made him a son of the Divine Abraham had a double posterity—Sarah's children the prophets, many of the psalmists, the Elect the Hosios, the Saints, the Free—and Hagar the slave-woman's children, the sacerdotalists, the stricter sects of the Pharisees, the Rabbis, the scribes. Or Sarah's child might stand for the principle of moral liberty and Hagar's child for the prin

* The remainder of Rom. xvi. is most likely spurious. See Davidson and Penan (in the preface to 'St. Paul')

† See p. 49.

‡ See p. 50.

cup's of service by ritual. But now the Law had done its work, the bondswoman must be cast out, the children would be emancipated from the rigid code of a perfunctory steward, and, redeemed from the slavery of the priestly Torah, they would receive the full privileges of sonship—the right to call God Father, and a Moral Franchise which recognised no formal system of religion or ethics. In the enthusiasm of the life in the Spirit, they would spontaneously fulfil the will of God by loving their neighbours as themselves. This doctrine of the Moral Franchise is the key to the Pauline gospel *

A series of passages in the Galatian letter run in remarkable parallel with passages in the letter to the *Romans*, and this fact suggests that the two epistles may date about the same time (58). These are some examples—*Galatians* "By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified," *Romans* "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified."—*G* "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness," *R* "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness"—*G* "As many of you as were baptised into Christ," *R* "All we who were baptised into Christ Jesus," etc. From what city Paul wrote is not certain—it may have been Corinth. Renan conjectures that the letter was in reality a kind of religious circular, summarising Paul's view of the gospel of Christ, and addressed to several churches, with special postscripts for each copy. This would account for the Ephesian fragment in chapter xvi. previously noticed.† The collision between Paul's doctrine of the New Liberty and the Hebrew doctrine of Salvation by the Law comes into strong play once more. Universalism wrestles with Judaism. In the curt preface Paul refers to the Son of God as "born of the seed of David according to the flesh" the only phrase of the kind used in his letters. It is remarkable, too, that all through the document the word "cross" never occurs, and the word "crucified" only once. He soon strikes out his thesis—"The gospel is the power of God unto salvation

* Paul does not consistently follow out his allegory of the T. Posterities but the statement above given is in harmony with his general concept on

† * St. Paul chapter xvi.

to every one that believes, to the Jew first and also to the Greek [he includes all Gentiles]. For therein is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith." He opens the argument by drawing a graphic portrait of vice rampant in the Gentile world, and he immediately turns upon the Jews and declares that they, too practise the same sins in varied forms. Jewish nationality gives no claim to God's favour. The only privilege God extended to the Jews was an honorary one. He revealed to them an elaborate Law.* Many Jews broke the Law, but the Law remained a witness of God's truth. In a new guise the parable of the Two Lost Entities recurs. Abraham's faith (*i.e.*, trust) in God's promise stamped him as righteous, though at the time he was uncircumcised. Afterwards he underwent the rite of circumcision as a ceremonial seal or guarantee of his title to the righteous character. And since "Abraham is the father of us all,"† we are all, circumcised or uncircumcised Jew or Gentile, Abraham's heirs, and all alike are eligible for the grace by which God, through the death of Christ, reconciles the world of transgressors to himself. The Jewish Law served to bring the world's sinfulness into strong relief (v 6, vii 7). The old system, as such, was a moral failure, and the gospel called for a divorce between the soul and the Law. A continual struggle agonising and despairing had taken place between human nature and the stern precepts of Sinai (vii). But with Christ the war terminated. A new ethical constitution was proclaimed. The Moral Franchise, the law of the Spirit of Life re-vitalised man's nature, and enabled him without Torah or Rabbinic maxim, to find the way of righteousness for himself. The flesh was defeated the spirit rose triumphant. The flesh loved sin the spirit soared upwards to holiness (viii). Unhappily even the Saints had carnal bodies, but their very groaning and their unresting expectation testified to the destiny of

* Rom. iii. 2. Paul drops the subject at once as it indeed he were not quite sure that the gift of the Mosaic Law conferred any peculiar benefit upon the Jewish race. The passage ix. 4 does not suggest any real advantage conferred by the Law.

† We need not stop to criticise Paul's ethnology. If the error had been proved to him he would probably have maintained that the illustration still held good as allegory.

redemption and release that awaited the imprisoned spirit * The divine Spirit itself assisted, and joined its prayerful voice with the cry of the fettered souls of the Saints (viii 27) Paul cannot withhold his tears for the Jews "I tell the truth in Christ I lie not, my conscience bearing witness with me in the Holy Spirit, that I feel deep sorrow and incessant pain in my heart, for I could wish myself anathema from Christ for the sake of my racial brethren and kinsmen" By God's ordering, the Jews degraded themselves into a Fleshly Posterity, like the line of despised Esau,† and they fell into disobedience and error, they had searched high and low, in heaven and Sheol, for the true means of reconciliation with God, but had missed it, for it lay, not in piety towards the Law, but in the inward faith in God and his Christ In the end, however, all alike, Jew and Gentile, would obtain sonship and the divine mercy He concludes with an ethical exhortation to sincerity, modesty, industry, patience, prayerfulness, charity to persecutors, obedience to the civil authority, the neighbourly love which dispenses with the Decalogue (xiii 8-10), due regard for the sensibilities of others on the subject of food or religious observance of days (as distinguished, of course, from the Pharisaic attachment of high importance to such observances) Here, in all likelihood (xiv 23) the letter ended The fifteenth chapter may contain stray sentences from Paul's pen, but it cannot all be genuine Part of it merely repeats advice already given, and a description of Christ as the "deacon of the circumcision" absurdly goes counter to the teaching of the whole letter nor would Paul speak of the Gentiles as sharers in the spiritual things ("pneumatika") of the Ebionite church of Jerusalem (xv 27) The doxology in xvi 25-27, "Now to him that is able to stablish you," etc., scarcely tallies with Paul's customary style Some critics regard it as spurious ‡

The exact line of Paul's travels between the dates of his extant epistles must remain obscure, since the book of Acts does not merit our confidence. In that book, however, the author has made use of a diary or log book kept by one of Paul's companions, and discernible by the employment of the word "we." This diary gives us irregular glimpses of Paul crossing the *Ægean Sea* to *Philippi* (Acts xvi 10, etc.), his return to *Troas*, and his voyage down the western coast of *Asia Minor*, and the passage by *Cyprus* to *Tyre*, where the party lodged seven days. Some of the *Tyrian Saints* implored Paul not to go to *Jerusalem*—a warning to which he paid no heed. A touching incident marked his departure. The Believers knelt on the sea beach with their wives and families, and prayed with Paul, afterwards watching his vessel recede on its way to the shores of *Palestine*. At *Cæsarea* the party stayed with Philip the evangelist and his four daughter, who had a gift for preaching. Agabus, tying his hands and feet, symbolically suggested to Paul the danger of visiting the Holy City. The Saints clung round the apostle, weeping. Nothing could move his resolute will. He would go to *Jerusalem*, and convey alms to the poor, even if he died there. And so, carrying their baggage, the travel-stained propagandists reached *Jerusalem*. Then the curtain of obscurity falls, and we know not how far we may trust the romantic writer, who shows us Paul arrested in the Temple, addressing the Sanhedrim, terrifying the governor Felix and making the rhetorical apology of his life to Festus, Agrippa, and Berenice. In Acts xxvii the curtain rises, and we see Paul and his comrades embarking under the care of the centurion Julius changing ships on the *Pamphylian coast*, encouraging the passengers and crew when the tempestuous *Eurakilo* beat down upon the heavy laden *Alexandrian merchantman*, gathering brushwood for a fire to cheer his shipwrecked companions and meeting a group of Saints on the *Appian road near Rome* (61). Then uncertainty again clouds our view. Even the book of Acts closes its narrative soon after Paul's arrival at *Rome*.

should run "Christ as concerning the flesh. God who is over all be blessed for ever." See marginal note to I Cor. i. 3 and I have's Christianity, vol. ii. chap. ii.

During his imprisonment (at Cæsarea perhaps or Rome) Paul wrote to his friend Philemon on behalf of a runaway bondsman Onesimus. A few words may be doubtful, but the letter as a whole breathes the warm and tender and energetic Pauline spirit. Possibly Onesimus, knowing Paul as an old friend of his master's, had visited him in prison, and had yielded his heart to the apostle's pleading. Take him back pleads Paul, as a brother and a fellow Saint and if you wish I will repay anything you have lost through his former dishonesty. At the close he makes request.

Prepare me also a lodging for I hope that through your prayers I shall be granted unto you. From Col. ii. 9 we may infer that Onesimus belonged to Colosse in Phrygia.*

For reasons which will be stated later on we may put aside the *Pastoral Epistles* (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus) and the epistles to the *Ephesians* and *Colossians* as un-Pauline.

There remains the letter to the *Philippians*. At Philippi in Macedonia Paul had introduced the New Movement into Europe. If genuine, this letter dates from Rome (62 or 63). The bulk of the document unmistakably reminds one of the Paul who wrote to the Galatians and Corinthians. Occasional passages cause hesitation. The opening verse brings us into contact with bishops and deacons for the first time in Paul's correspondence.

Beware of the dogs sounds too harsh for Paul even when he aims at the Jerusalem party. Baur has fastened upon the following passage as evidence of non-Pauline authorship.

Christ Jesus who being in the form of God counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God but emptied himself taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men and being found in fashion as a man he humbled himself becoming obedient even unto death yea the death of the cross (ii. 5-8)—the sense being that Christ though divine in form readily relinquished his glory in order to take mortal shape. Baur sees in such expressions as form of God hints of a Gnostic doctrine which Paul never taught, and in the description of Christ as

* Hausmann's *Apostles* vol. iv. Paul in Judæa. Hausmann expresses himself doubtfully as to the complete authenticity of the epistle. Baur rejects it but not I think justly.

' thinking it not rapacity to be equal with God' (as the translation is sometimes made to run) he finds allusion to the Gnostic idea of the *Æon Sophia* attempting to assume the perfect essence of God. Baur's argument lacks force.* A curious sentence in iii 1 "Finally, my brethren rejoice in the Lord" gives rise to the opinion that the epistle ended here, and has since been joined with another letter. Briefly glancing at the general contents, we note the characteristic amiability of Paul in his introduction. He ceases not to pray for the Philippian Saints. He has them in his heart. Though a captive in the *Prætorium* he has succeeded in propagating the gospel. Even if some people preached the gospel from low motives of rivalry, he rejoiced that the Movement made progress. He desired to die and gain the glory of Christ's presence, but he felt his presence among the Churches was needed. Pleading for mutual charity, he pointed to the self-denial and humility of Christ who left his high estate and stooped to the cross. A paragraph follows on the sickness and recovery of his friend *Epaphroditus*. Then after the break at iii 1 (and perhaps in a separate letter of which the beginning is lost) Paul warns against Judaism. He too is a Hebrew but he has cast off all racial privileges. They are mere dung, he presses onwards forgetful of all else towards the divine goal. He thanks the Saints for the thoughtful gifts they had sent by the hand of *Epaphroditus*, begs two Philippian women to renew their friendship and gently exhorts all the Disciples to the love of things honourable, just, gracious and pure.† For us these are Paul's last words. In 64 the sky over Rome reddened with the glare of the great fire. The *Prætorium* where Paul lay chained crumbled in the flames. Or if he escaped death there, a worse form of fiery trial awaited him in the gardens where Nero lit his ghastly torches.‡

7 Seneca — A year after the death of Paul Seneca the Stoic, by order of the emperor Nero, put an end to his life. So illustrious a writer could scarcely elude the attacks of

* Life and Work of Paul, part II, ch. p. 1.

† Davidson's Introduction.

‡ See p. 7 and Hausrath vol. 1. Paul in Rome.

that cheap criticism which seeks to wash out the brilliance of the teachings by exposing the weaknesses of the teacher. We will assume it as proved that Seneca flattered the living Claudius and maligned him when dead, and that, while preaching the worthlessness of wealth, he glutted his private treasury, and against these sins we may place the testimony that he lived, as a rule, austere and soberly. It remains a fact that his writings enshrine some of the finest religious and ethical thoughts of his age. Certain aspects of his doctrine so resembled certain passages in the gospel of Paul that, long afterwards, a literary inventor wrote a supposed correspondence between Paul and Seneca. Not the slightest evidence exists that the two men ever met. A few notes on Seneca's moral philosophy may here be given.

"No man," wrote the great Stoic, "is good without God; 'God has a fatherly mind towards good men, and loves them deeply,' 'Those whom God approves and loves, them he burdens, chastises, disciplines,' God 'is near us, is with us is within,' and there is 'a holy spirit (*sacer spiritus*) residing in us, the guardian and observer of our good and evil deeds.' Sin weighs down the soul, and the soul perpetually struggles to escape. A sad candour makes the confession. 'We shall ever be obliged to pronounce the same sentence upon ourselves that we are evil that we have been evil, and (I will add it, unwillingly) that we shall be evil. Conscience holds up the mirror and rebukes all men—'It reproaches them, and shows them to themselves.' Seneca says splendidly 'The first and greatest punishment of sinners is the fact of having sinned.' He commends the saying of Epicurus 'The beginning of safety is the knowledge of sin. The wise man will, therefore retire into himself, and commune with his heart, and at the close of each day will silently and solemnly look back—'I review my deeds and words, I hide nothing from myself, I pass over nothing.' Towards other men our duties are imperative. 'You must live for another, if you would live for yourself.' Even the slaves claim a tender regard. 'They are slaves, you urge, nay, they are men. They are slaves, nay, they are comrades. They are slaves, nay, they are humble friends.'

With the Christian "Sermon on the Mount" Seneca's teachings sometimes run in startling parallel. A group of

quotations will readily exhibit the coincidences. "The mind, unless it is pure and holy, comprehends not God." "Cast out whatsoever things rend thy heart, nay, if they could not be extracted otherwise, thou shouldst have plucked out thy heart itself with them." "I will be agreeable to friends, gentle and yielding to enemies." (Elsewhere, however, Seneca commends justice rather than lenience.) "If you imitate the gods, confer benefits even on the unthankful, for the sun rises even on the wicked, and the seas are open to pirates." "Apply thyself rather to the true riches. It is shameful to depend for a happy life on silver and gold." "Do you, being covered with countless ulcers, mark the pimples of others?" "Good does not grow of evil, any more than a fig of an olive tree. The fruits correspond to the seed." With other sentiments in the Christian gospel Seneca's doctrine betrays a near resemblance. Compare the remark of Jesus as to the whited sepulchre of Phariſaism with the words of the Stoic "Within is no good if thou shouldst see them, not where they are exposed to view, but where they are concealed, they are miserable, filthy, vile, adorned without like their own walls. Then it appears how much real foulness beneath the surface this borrowed glitter has concealed. Well known Christian parables naturally recur to the mind when reading such passages from Seneca as this 'Divine seeds are sown in human bodies. If a good husbandman receives them, they spring up like their origin, if a bad one, they are killed as by barren and marshy ground, and then weeds are produced in place of grain;' and this 'O how great is the madness of those who embark on distant hopes. I will buy, I will build, I will lend out, I will demand payment, I will bear honours, then, at length I will resign my old age wearied and sated to rest. Believe me, all things are uncertain even to the prosperous.'

Paul's epistles also have a frequent counterpart in Seneca's pages. "I will most gladly spend and be spent for your souls," says Paul, and Seneca observes 'Good men toil, they spend and are spent.' Paul compares the strenuous Saint with an athlete, and so does Seneca. "What blows do athletes receive in their face! what blows all over their body! Yet they bear all the torture from thirst of glory. Let us also overcome all things, for our

regard is not a crown or a palm branch or the trumpeter proclaiming silence for the announcement of our name, but virtue and strength of mind and peace acquired ever after' A few more quotations may be arranged in pairs —

Paul 'Overcome evil with good' Seneca 'Pertinacious goodness overcomes evil men'

Paul 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty' Seneca 'To obey God is liberty'

Paul 'Who among men knows the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him? We received not the spirit of the world but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given to us by God' Seneca 'I have a better and a surer light whereby I can discern the true from the false' The mind discovers the good of the mind

Even where the language differs the ethical atmosphere is the same Where Seneca says, 'Virtue is barred to none, she is open to all she receives all she invites all, gentlefolk, freedmen slaves kings exiles alike, or Nature bids me assist men and whether they be bond or free whether gentlefolk or freedmen whether they enjoy liberty as a right or as a friendly gift what matter? Wherever a man is there is room for doing good' — Paul says 'There is neither Jew nor Greek there is neither bond nor free there is no male and female, for you all are one in Christ Jesus or 'Not Greek and Jew circumcision and uncircumcision barbarian Scythian bond free but Christ is all things and in all

Yet it is plain that Seneca's Stoicism diverged in important respects from the creed of the early Christians The Pantheistic and impersonal Supreme Being of the Stoics and their uncertainty as to man's immortality contrast strongly with the Heavenly Father the Son of God the Devil and the Resurrection doctrine of the Christian Saints We can best account for the likeness between many of the moral principles of the Stoics and the Christians by the very natural supposition that in the first century of the Christian era the movement towards a larger ethical doctrine was so widespread that it affected both the academies and the clubs the well born philosopher and the plebeian revivalist, and that both Seneca and the New Testament writers caught up from the religious current of the age words and phrases

and ideas to which the merest inflexion would give a Stoical or Christian character *

8 The Apocalypse —The Emperor Nero, on June 9th 68 † lay stretched on a mattress in the house of Phaon the freedman outside the walls of Rome. A group of persons looked coldly on as hearing the tramp of horses and knowing that his pursuers would soon fall upon him he placed a dagger to his throat and slew himself. For a brief period Galba wore the purple. With shuddering expectation people heard and believed the strange report that Nero had been spirited away beyond the Euphrates and would some day return with an avenging army.

Between June 9th 68 and January 15th 69 when Galba was murdered, an unknown writer composed in the Aramaic tongue, a part (perhaps we may say the greater part) of the *Apocalypse* the book of Revelation or Unveiling. From Aramaic the work was translated into Greek, but this Greek is unlike that used in the New Testament generally. It has Hebraic constructions inelegant phrases, grammatical errors. If we take away the first three chapters (which give an Introduction and contain Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia) and the final verses (xii 6 to end) we shall still have left a composition marked by a dramatic unity and embracing all the important incidents of the great Vision. The epistles to the Seven Churches form no necessary element of the Apocalypse and the Apocalypse proper makes no reference to these or any other Churches. The piece added at the end consists of miscellaneous and disconnected verses. Now the two portions we have thus cut out are the only sections of the book in which the name John occurs (in the Revised Version). We suspect then that the name of John may not be the right name of the author. Did the author of the Apocalypse write the (so-called) Gospel of John? The total unlikeness of style and spirit supplies an emphatic answer No. Did a com

* For the parallels above given see special dissertation in J. B. Lightfoot's *St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*. Useful little chapters on the moral earnestness which was developing itself in the Roman empire during the first Christian century will be found in W. W. Capes's *Early Empire* (Epochs of Ancient History ")

† A manuscript on p. 22 gives the date as 67

panion of Jesus write the Apocalypse? We look in vain for a trace of any personal acquaintance. Was it written by that "John the Presbyter" of whom Papias speaks (in the second century)? Evidence fails here also. Looking again at the portions we have cut out, we meet the name "Jesus" seven times, in the rest of the book—that is to say, in the Apocalypse itself—it is used only in these phrases. "The testimony of Jesus" (four times), "the faith of Jesus," and "the martyrs of Jesus." If we remove the passages which make allusion to Jesus, the general sense and purpose of the Vision remain untouched. The Apocalypse is then seen to be a Jewish prophecy or poem, in which, after the manner of the books of "Daniel" and "Enoch," great events move before the eye in the guise of allegory. A Christian writer, struck with the graphic religiousness of the work, and admiring the realism of its visions of the age of Messiah, translated it for Greek readers, added the closing verses and the introduction (in which are placed the Seven Epistles), and inserted references to Jesus, and such glosses as "*the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified*" (v 8). This translation may date in the reign of Hadrian (117–138). Possibly the Jewish portion had been already interpolated, and the Christian additions may have proceeded from more than one hand.*

More than once we have observed the Jewish fondness for literature which unveiled the divine machinery of the world and showed how God would effect the final triumph of the Saints—*i.e.*, the Pious and Sincerely devout as distinguished from Formalists and Ritualists. Doubtless the writer of the Apocalypse knew the book of Enoch and its mystic pictures of things celestial. A comparison of the expressions used in the two books will render this clear. *Apocalypse* "Round about the throne four living creatures" *Enoch* "On the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences" *A* "Ten thousand times ten thousand angels about the throne" *E* "Ten thousand times ten thousand were before him" *A* "How long cry the souls of the martyred Saints, "O Master, holy and true, dost thou not

* Dr. Davidson considers that all the passages relating to the Lamb have a Christian origin.

and I will show thee the things which must come to pass hereafter Straightway I was in the Spirit "

On the celestial throne sits God, his form radiating a crimson light and encircled by a vivid green rainbow Twenty four lesser thrones round about are occupied by twenty four old men, white-vestured, and crowned with gold crowns These figures may correspond with the twenty-four courses of the Jewish priesthood A continuous thunder rolls, and lightning frequently flashes from the divine throne Seven lamps or torches, the flame spirits of God, shine out upon the glistening crystal floor which extends in the foreground Closely attached to the throne stand four Living creatures, suggestive of a lion, a calf, a man, an eagle, each with six vibrating wings and covered with restless eyes Without pause, these Living creatures, types of the chief divisions of animate nature, raise the hymn of praise to the Eternal, and the elders, bowing before the divine majesty, ever and anon join in the swelling chorus *

The Seer then beholds the Book of the Apocalypse, fastened with seven seals, and he weeps because no hand in heaven or earth avails to open it Presently a vision reveals itself before the throne It is the figure of a LAMB "standing as though it had been slain," and furnished with seven horns and seven eyes—symbols of a panoply of power and a plenitude of insight When the Lamb takes the roll of the Apocalypse, a shout of joy arises and the mystic choir sings a psalm never before uttered "Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests, and they reign upon the earth " Countless angels join in the song, and, while incense floats over the great assembly, they add new praises "Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honour, and glory, and blessing"—seven royal attributes The kingly quality of the Lamb is also implied in the titles of the "Lion of Judah" and the "Root of David "

* The Living creatures are copied from those of Ezekiel; and many features in the Apocalypse show direct borrowing from "Daniel "

What did the LAMB signify? Let us first look at other passages relating to this mystic being. A later scene in the Vision displays a multitude of the Redeemed whose robes have been washed white in the blood of the Lamb, and the Lamb as their shepherd, leads the flock of the Saved to the fountains of life (vii 9-17). Elsewhere mention is made of names 'written in the Book of Life of the Lamb that has been slain from the foundation of the world', though another reading gives, 'written from the foundation of the world in the Book of Life of the Lamb that has been slain' and the latter version tallies with a reference in xvii 8 'written in the book of life from the foundation of the world'. In another episode in the Unveiling we see the Lamb as King of Kings advancing to battle against the enemies of God. We perceive, then, that the Lamb has lived since the world began that his spilt blood cleanses the soiled robes of men and redeems them from sorrow and evil and that, armed with divine powers, he can crush all the coalitions of the wicked. Does the Lamb point to the Christian Jesus? There is no good ground for thinking so. For the conception of the Slain Lamb we find a sufficient origin in the old Hebrew doctrine of sacrifice, and the efficacy of the blood of bulls and goats, and particularly of the Passover Lamb. Possibly the same tendency which produced the Christian doctrine of the Slain Jesus whose blood dissolves the sinfulness of mankind also produced among the more strongly Jewish section of the New People a belief in a mystical and celestial Lamb whose divine blood availed to reconcile men with God, and dispensed with all need for victims on the Temple altar. If the Apocalypse was penned in Asia Minor we may conjecture that the writer had met with the strange ritual of the *criobolium* and the *taurobolium* in which the devotee lying down in a pit and exposed to the dripping of blood from a slaughtered sheep or bull trusted to receive absolution from sin and the hope of an endless life. The Lamb of the Apocalypse is a spiritual creature, and its blood divine and we have no reason to assume that the writer believed in Jesus as the incarnated Lamb.

One by one the Seven Seals are broken. Four horses flit by—the white horse of Triumph, the red horse of War, the black horse of Famine, its rider selling food at a high price, and the pale horse of Death and Sheol. At the breaking of the fifth seal shrieks are heard from under an altar, the souls of men and women who had been slain “for the word of God” cry for vengeance. They receive white robes, and soothing assurance. Are these the martyrs in Nero’s persecution? If the Apocalypse comes from a Jewish source and expresses Jewish aspirations, we must strongly doubt the existence of any allusion to the martyrdoms of 64 unless, indeed, the sufferers whom Tacitus called Christians were in reality Jews. But it seems more natural to suppose that the souls under the altar stand for the many pious Jews who, at Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cæsarea, and elsewhere, had fallen beneath the Gentile sword.

The sixth seal introduces an earthquake, sun and moon darken in the dim atmosphere, and kings and tribunes and peasants alike fly to caves and gorges to escape the wrath of God and of the Lamb. A lull ensues, during which four angels hold back the blasts of retribution, and the elect Saints of the twelve tribes of Israel receive on their foreheads the print of the divine name. They number 144,000*. Then an immense throng, clad in white assemble in heaven and praise God for their deliverance from persecutions on earth. Is this throng another view of the 144,000 a number which may be only symbolical, or does it denote the multitude of Gentile proselytes who should join the congregation of the Jewish Elect? The question must remain unanswered.

At the breaking of the seventh seal a silence follows. An angel throws incense, kindled by the burning prayers of the Saints, upon the earth, a tempest agitates the scene for a few moments, and then seven trumpeters step forward to give signals of woe and terror—hail and lightning a volcano tumbling into the ocean the fall of the star of bitterness, named “Apsinthos;” and the partial obscuration of sun, moon, and stars. An eagle flies across the scene, screeching of coming dooms. The Abyss opens, a sulphurous exhalation

* Among the tribes Dan is left out and Manasseh is reckoned in the list, though it should be included under Joseph.

tion ascends, and from out of the lurid cloud issue ravening demons, led by their King Abaddon or Apollyon (destruction), their faces human, their hair streaming, their brows crowned, their teeth like those of lions, their bodies locust shaped, their tails pointed with poisonous stings. The sixth trumpet calls to arms an enormous host of cavalry—Parthian warriors from beyond the Euphrates, steeds and riders defended in armour which throws off a crimson, purple, and yellow sheen, the horses' tails taking the form of vipers (perhaps an allusion to the Parthian trick of shooting arrows backward while in pretended flight). A colossal angel descends to give the Seer a book such as the prophet Ezekiel took and ate in vision, its taste sweet, its after flavour sour. Then, at the bidding of a voice, the Seer measures the temple of Jerusalem, as if to mark off the inner sanctuary as inviolable, though the Gentiles may profane the outer court. At the time of the composition of the Apocalypse the Roman armies had entered Galilee, and the writer may have imagined that, while pagan feet might soil the outer precincts of the Holy House, an avenging God would never permit the Romans to penetrate to the inner chamber*. Two "witnesses," impossible to identify, cover themselves in sackcloth, and utter mournful prophecies. They are slain, and their corpses lie unburied till a heavenly voice calls them to rise and mount upwards in the sight of their panic stricken foes†. An earthquake convulses the sinful city. At the blast of the seventh trumpet, amid jubilant voices, claps of thunder, and torrents of hail, the doors of a heavenly temple fly open, and reveal that Ark of the Covenant which had disappeared when Nebuchadrezzar sacked Jerusalem ages ago.

A woman, enveloped with the sun, treading on the moon, and crowned with twelve stars, is delivered of a son in heaven. The child, who is destined to become Messiah and World ruler, is placed under the protecting shadow of God's throne in order to save it from the Dragon with seven diademed heads and ten horns. The mother escapes

* See p. 17, as to the Jewish expectation of Messiah.

† Moses and Elijah are often pointed to as the Two Witnesses, but without satisfactory reasons. Nor is it easy to determine what is meant by the Great City where they are killed. The reference to the crucified Lord in vi. 8 is, no doubt, a gloss.

Celestial war ensues, and Michael flings the Dragon out of heaven. The vision here seems confused, for a second scene exhibits the woman, furnished with eagle's wings, flying to the wilderness and pursued by the Dragon. We may, however, interpret the episode as prophetic of the birth, in heaven, of a Christ who in due season should subjugate the powers of Evil.*

The Dragon, standing on the shore, sees, rising from the sea, a kind of reflection or double of himself—a Blaspheming Beast, with seven heads and ten diadem bearing horns—*i.e.*, the Roman Empire, with its ten pro consuls. The seven heads may indicate seven emperors—Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, and one yet to come, or Julius Cæsar,† Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Galba, who was reigning at the close of 68. One of the heads receives a fatal wound, yet lives again, to the amazement of the world, and the modern critical opinion is that in the number of the Beast (אח 18), which is given as 666, we find a hidden reference to both the Beast itself and the Emperor Nero. The name *Neron Kaisar* (for so the emperor is termed on the contemporary coins of Asia) is written in Hebrew letters thus, מֶסֶר כֶּרֶן, and, if the numerical values of the seven letters are added up, the total comes out 666. In the case of the Latin form, *Nero Cæsar*, the omitted letter reduces the number to 616, and in some ancient manuscripts the number is actually so reported. The fatal wound from which the fifth (or sixth) head wondrously recovers may suggest the death of Nero and his expected re-appearance in the East.

With the Blaspheming Beast appears another, who acts as his auxiliary and prophet, calling upon mankind to bow to Roman authority, and enforcing his commands with miracles—fire drawn from heaven, and a statue made to speak. Of many ingenious guesses at the meaning of this Second Beast, none seem convincing‡.

* I am therefore unable to agree with the critics who regard the Woman's flight to the Wilderness as symbolising the migration of the Jerusalem Saints to Pella. (See p. 23.)

† Renan points out that Josephus always counts Cæsar as an emperor.

‡ The Roman priesthood, Simon Magus, Balbillus of Ephesus, etc., have been proposed.

A break in the series of visions now occurs and after the New Song has been sung by the 144 000 and three angels have uttered warning messages and a voice has blessed the "dead which die in the Lord," and a ghastly sickle has gathered up earth's ripe grapes for the winepresses of God's anger, and the song of Moses and the Lamb has reverberated through heaven, the angels of the Seven Last Plagues pour out streams of woe from their deadly bowls of gold. In gruesome succession run the plagues of ulcers, the sea and rivers turned into blood, sunstroke, darkness, the sinister and frog like spirits which summon Nero and the Parthians to the great battle of Har Magedon,* and an overwhelming hailstorm. A picture of the Mother of Prostitutes, decked with jewels, holding the cup of lewdness and seated on the scarlet coloured Blaspheming Beast, flits by, and then the doom of Babylon (Rome) is meted out. The ten kings turn and rend the Imperial power. Fire and famine mingle their horrors. Princes and merchants gaze upon the ruined city and raise a dirge, the melancholy echoes of which die away in the crash of a thunderous Hallelujah from the choirs of heaven. The celestial Messiah the Word of God child of the star crowned woman (he is, apparently, a transfiguration of the Lamb), rides forth as King of Kings, breathing invincible flame, and followed by the armies of God. A tempest of war passes over the earth and the vultures flock down upon the innumerable dead. The Blaspheming Beast and the False Prophet sink in a fiery abyss. The Saints and Martyrs soar from their sepulchres to divine thrones and for a thousand years, Satan the dragon is enchained. He escapes only to suffer irretrievable defeat. All the dead rise and stand in solemn silence while judgment is read from the books of fate. While the fumes of the Lake of Fire curl luridly in the background the brilliant New Jerusalem glides from the open skies, four square, four gated, resplendent with twelve foundation courses of precious stones, ablaze with golden streets, musical with the hymns of the Sealed Ones and the ripple of the River of Life, odorous with the healing fruit tree

* Variouslly interpreted as the City of Megiddo the scene of King Josiah's utter defeat and death, and as Iomah Magedolah = great Rome

that overreaches the stream and endlessly blessed by the presence of God and of the Lamb. This is the closing point (xxi. 5) of the Apocalypse.

The book then may be regarded as a Jewish manifesto against Rome, a message of consolation for the oppressed Saints, and a prophecy of the speedy advent of the heavenly Christ. But by the Saints we must understand, not a body of Christians but of pious and puritan Jews who did indeed, assist in the revivalist movement, but whose national Messiah was yet to come and whose hope of individual salvation lay in the efficacy of the blood of a Celestial Lamb. This Lamb we repeat was not Jesus of Nazareth. Yet while the Book of the Unveiling thrills intensely with Jewish sentiment, the writer does not look for a restoration of the shattered earthly kingdom of the Chosen People. His faith looks higher. There will indeed, be a new kingdom but it will descend from the skies. And in the Rabbinic speculations of the first century such ideas often found expression. The true Patriarchs the true Moses the true Tabernacle and Temple the true City of God and we may add the true Sacrificial Lamb were not on earth they existed in heaven. In the *Assumption of Moses** the Lawgiver is made to describe himself as prepared from the foundations of the world in order to be middleman of God's covenant. Another legend threw back the origin of the Law two thousand years before the creation†. What mattered it then if the material Temple and all its apparatus were dissolved there endured the eternal City and the Word and the Elders and the Lamb.

The problem of the *Seven Epistles* faces us (Rev. i. 10 to end of i. 11). Do they proceed from the writer of the Revelation? The picture of the radiant Son of God is foreign to the Apocalypse, and it seems almost incredible that so important a conception should be purposely suppressed in the Apocalypse. Do they proceed from a Christian hand? They contain no mention of the name of Jesus or hints of his biography. And why if the Son of God signifies Jesus of Galilee should he be represented as standing in the midst

* Vol. of this History p. 159.

† Harnack's History of Dogma, vol. i. chap. of Introductory Discourse.

of the seven candlesticks—i.e., of seven religious societies or churches located in a small corner of Asia Minor? Have we in the Seven Epistles the indication of some local sect of Messianists, or believers in a Messiah? Let us examine the contents. The author has no doubt read the Apocalypse, and caught up suggestions of its blazing imagery. He sees a flaming apparition of the Son of Man standing amid seven golden candlesticks or lamps, and holding seven stars in his hand. From his mouth a sword projects. "I am the First and the Last and the Living One, alive for evermore and I have the keys of Death and of Hades." Is the sentence, "I became dead" (not "I died") an interpolation? The allusion is obscure. The death has no atoning power, and the white robes spoken of in the Epistles are not dipped in the redeeming blood, but are given, with crowns as tokens of victory (iii 4). The Epistle to Ephesus commends the patience of the Saints, and speaks menacingly of false claimants to apostleship and an heretical group of Nicolaitans*. The Epistle to Smyrna forewarns that prison awaits the Faithful, and counsels wariness against the members of a local synagogue. The Epistle to Pergamum speaks tenderly of the martyred Antipas, and then changes into scornful utterance against the wickedly liberal teachers who permitted harlotry and the eating of meat from pagan temples. The Epistle to Thyatira curses a sorceress or prophetess who played the part of oracle in that city, and who is contemptuously termed Jezebel. The Epistle to Sardis complains bitterly of a lapse from the true faith—that is to say of coolness among the people who had at one time received the Messiah doctrine with fervour. The Epistle to Philadelphia mockingly styles the local synagogue as the appanage of Satan and prophesies that these pretended Jews shall crawl at the feet of the true Saints. The Epistle to Laodicea rebukes the lukewarmness of the disciples who prospering in business, found it convenient to drop their interest in Messianic speculations.

The scanty evidence at our disposal appears to give ground for the conjecture that in western Asia Minor—a

* We cannot tell who these Nicolaitans were. Penan and others believe that Paul is attacked as the false claimant to apostleship and promulgator of unholy doctrine.

region fertile in religious excitements, and not long since roused by the preaching of Paul—the Jewish settlements had been visited by one or more propagandists who predicted the speedy coming of the Anointed One, who either used the Apocalypse as a book of testimony or adopted its general view of the Last Times, and who fiercely opposed rival Jewish sects as well as the pagan oracles. One adherent of the new sect had been slain, others were committed to gaol, many had deserted. If this explanation of the Seven Epistles is correct, we must abandon the common opinion that they came from a Christian source.

The Christian verses added by way of preface and finish call for little comment. The very first verses contain the phrase which we have regarded as an interpolation in the Jewish document. “The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show unto his servants, even the things which must shortly come to pass, and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bore witness of the word of God, *and of the testimony of Jesus Christ*, even of all things that he saw.” The final verses are mere fragments, which spoil the artistic effect of the dream of the Golden City. The Christian additions contain the expression, “I am Alpha and Omega,” which does not occur in the Jewish portion.*

Echoes of Apocalyptic thunder make themselves heard in the so-called *Second Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians*, which we may conveniently consider here. The commencement of the letter arouses no suspicion. “Paul and Silvanus and Timothy unto the church of the Thessalonians in God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace to you and peace,” etc. But when, after approving the patience of the Saints under trials and persecutions, the writer takes satisfaction in the prospect of the punishment of the persecutors—“at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power in flaming fire, rendering vengeance to them that know not God, and to them that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, who shall suffer punishment, even

* Davidson's “Introduction.” Renan's “Antechrist.” Hausrath vol. iv. Havel vol. n. and an article by A. Hilgenfeld in his *Zeitschrift* for 1860 entitled “De Johannes Apokalypse.” In my view of the Apocalypse I have not adhered rigidly to any of these authorities.

eternal destruction from the face of the Lord" etc.—we pause. Not thus was it Paul's wont to anticipate the triumph of the New Order, when the fulness of the Gentiles should come in and all Israel should be saved. Presently another passage excites our perplexity afresh "*Touching the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ it will not happen except the falling-away come first, and the Man of Sin be revealed, the Son of Perdition, he that opposes and exalts himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he sits in the Temple of God, setting himself forth as God*." And now ye know what is the restraining power that keeps back his unveiling till the due season. For the Mystery of Lawlessness is already at work, but only until the restraining power is removed, and then shall be unveiled the Lawless One whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth—whose [the Lawless One's] coming is with Satanic energy in all power, and portentousness, and false miracles, and in unrighteous deception to them that are perishing, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And so God sends upon them an influence (*energeia*) of error so that they should believe a lie, that all might be judged who believed not the truth, but took pleasure in unrighteousness." We recoil from these almost savage ideas as un-Pauline. Who is the Man of Sin? and what is the agency that checks his appearance? The conception of the Lawless One who assumes divine honours reminds us, on the one hand of the dark portrait of Antiochus Epiphanes in the book of 'Daniel' (xi 36), and, on the other of the False Prophet of the Apocalypse. Some power (the imperial might of Rome, or whatever else) prevented, but only for a time, the complete revealing of the Antichrist in the Temple of God. Clear explanations fail us. All we can conclude is that, in the latter half of the first century, many eyes looked timorously for the uprising of a diabolical force which should lead nations astray until the advent of a militant Christ. The last chapter of the epistle has several passages which suggest the hand of Paul—'*neither did we eat bread for nothing at any man's hand, but in labour and travail working night and day, that we might not burden any of you,*' etc.—but the words of signature, 'The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle' so I

write raises doubt for it looks like an effort to palm off as Pauline a document which bears a strong mark of spuriousness.*

9 Jesus — Even if the Synoptic gospels, Mark, Matthew, and Luke did not take their present form till the second century, they undoubtedly enshrine beliefs and traditions which had arisen in the first century. And since, unfortunately, neither classical historians nor Josephus nor Philo offer us any information as to the career of Jesus of Nazareth, we must fall back upon the three Synoptics (for the Fourth Gospel belongs to a much later date) and, from an analysis of their contents aided by such sidelights from the political and religious history as we can elsewhere obtain seek to construct a rough outline of the central figure of Christianity. We shall regard the Synoptics in two aspects. First, they enclose within their texts a Common or Triple Tradition which forms their groundwork which they each add to and which furnishes the earliest available story of the career of Jesus and this we shall resort to wherever it seems important to discover the earliest accounts. Secondly the expansion which each gospel gives to the Common Tradition will furnish a guide to the beliefs of the New People on the subject of the Jesus Messiah.

A preliminary page must be given to John the Baptist.

When in the year 34 Tiberius being Emperor of Rome and Pontius Pilate procurator of Judæa John the Baptist startled Jewdom with his prophetic cries both Hebrews and Gentiles were in the mood for the reception of a new religion. For centuries past aching under oppression men had yearned for the Delivering Prince. Visionaries like the author of the book of Enoch looked hopefully upwards to a mighty Son of God. Salvation through a divine Christ furnished joyful themes for the writer of the 'Psalms of the Pharisees'. While by the republican Zealots the Messiah was conceived of as a proud conqueror who would crush usurpers and restore the glories of Israel the schools of Shammai and Hillel expected him as a prince of peace and an ethical reformer. His descent would be traced to

* Davidson's Introduction "

the royal line of David.* A rumour ran through Egypt that, one of the great world-cycles having elapsed, the Phoenix bird had reappeared in order to die in flames and rise again as herald of a new age. Roman augurs had said, at the death of Julius Caesar, that the last month of the world's year, the month of Apollo, had opened, and the age of Saturn approached. Roman poetry had found a picturesque interest in the Jewish Sibyl's prophecy of Messiah, though Virgil, in his fourth Eclogue, merely referred to the Hebrew expectation in order to give a graceful point to his flattery. For it was to the son of the consul Asinius Pollio that Virgil applied his verses —

‘ The final age whereof the Sibyl sang
Has come at last, and now is born anew
The mighty cycle of the centuries.
Now too returns the Virgin, now returns
The rule of Saturn and from heaven on high
Descending unto earth a child is born.”

And then he sings of a Happy Age when peace holds sway, and labour brings no pain, and the ox fears not the lion † A romantic story floated round the Empire that, when a ship lay becalmed near Corsu the helmsman heard a voice bidding him proclaim at Palodes the death of great Pan. When the helmsman obeyed his message awakened mysterious sighs and exclamations. A decree against usury (33 C.E.) had disorganised finance throughout the Empire, and the prisons filled with debtors. Beyond Jordan the Arabians threatened and, beyond the Euphrates, hovered those Parthians who flit across the pages of the Apocalypse. Disorder attended Pilate's rule in Judæa. The road from the capital to Jericho was haunted by brigands. Men like Barabbas led the people into rebellious uprisings. ‡

Between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea lay a rocky tract, in the glens and caves of which the Essenes lived their ascetic lives. John the Baptist was, in spirit, if not in name, an Essene. His mode of life resembled that of the

* Grætz's "Hist. of the Jews" vol. II., chap. VI. and see section 22 in vol. II. of this "History."

† Hausrath's "Time of the Apostles" vol. I. chapter on 'The Propaganda.'

‡ Hausrath's "Time of Jesus," vol. II. chapter on 'The Jordan Baptism.'

hermit Banus (p. 15) and called to mind the rough-coated and outspoken Elijah of the ancient legend. For food he resorted to the honeycomb of wild bees, or collected locusts driven by the south wind. His speech savoured of wilder-ness scenes—the brood of vipers in the cranny, the stones and boulders of the hillside, the tree that grew fruitless on the bare mountains. Round this new prophet the people swarmed, listening with stricken conscience to his appeal, "Repent, repent!" Wrath lowered on the horizon, the immoral chaff would fly before God's fan. Crowds followed the preacher to the reed-lined banks of the Jordan where he baptised them in the muddy stream. With baptism he said, would come remission of past sins. And then he bade them prove contrition by conduct. Descent from Abraham availed naught. God demanded deeds—the sharing of clothes and food with the poor, the just assessment of taxes, a tranquil life unstained by violence towards weaker men. Money-grubbing tax collectors and weary prostitutes eagerly heard his preaching. A band of intimate disciples accompanied him, spending much time in fasting and in repeating the prayers that he taught. Whether in a fit of remorse, King Herod Antipas* invited the Baptist to his palace, heard his blunt admonitions for a while with tolerance, and then angrily dismissed him to the block, or whether fox-like, he lured John by stratagem in order to compass the death of a dangerous agitator, must remain obscure. Two of the gospels (Mark and Matthew) tell how John's head, lying on a dish, rewarded a wanton dancing girl while a suspected passage in Josephus locates the death scene in the castle of Machærus.

No miracle legend gathered about the memory of the Baptist. It should be observed too that his mission touched none save Jews. The praise-song which "Luke" places in the mouth of John's father Zacharias, speaks only of redemption for the children of Abraham.

No sooner had the prison gate closed upon the Essene preacher than one of his disciples caught up the prophetic mantle and, seeking a more hopeful sowing ground than Judæa, passed into Galilee and from village to village, proclaimed the gospel of repentance and the coming of a heavenly kingdom. This was *Jesus of Nazareth*.

* See vol. 1. of this History, section 3.

At this time excitement moved the people of Samaria. A seer had arisen who declared that in the holy mount Gerizim there lay hidden the vessels of God's house, snatched from the grasp of the heathen Babylonians centuries before. For many years gossips bruited about the tale that Jeremiah, or an angel, had concealed the Ark, the High priest's ephod, the altar of incense, and the like, in a cave, there to rest till Jerusalem's day of freedom should return, though another belief, retained in the Apocalypse (p. 74), placed the Ark in heaven. Multitudes assembled about Gerizim, and, as many came armed, it is possible that the Zealots had resolved, under cover of a pious demonstration, to strike for liberty. Pilate's troops dispersed the credulous mob,* and the wave of religious emotion flowed on to Galilee, the chief theatre of the preaching of Jesus.

No data exist for making a detailed chronology of the new teacher's movements. We must content ourselves with concluding from an examination of the Triple Tradition† that Jesus taught at Capernaum and round about the Lake of Galilee, both in the open air and in synagogues, and that he once or twice journeyed towards Phœnicia. After about a year's propaganda he turned to Jerusalem, his entry into the city caused a disturbance, he was arrested as a plebeian impostor, and, so far from being considered a prisoner of importance, was condemned to death with two thieves who were at that time confined in the city gaol. The Common Tradition ceases at the sepulchre, and just gives a hint that the emergence of Jesus from the tomb had been reported, but it contains no account of the supposed resurrection.

Jesus‡ belonged to Galilee. Galilee, the territory of Herod Antipas, lay between the Jordan valley, Samaria, the Carmel range, the Mediterranean, and Lebanon. On the north smoked the glass furnaces of Tyre. Eastwards

* Josephus, 'Antiquities,' xvii, chap. iv, 1, and Hausrath's "Time of Jesus," vol. ii.

† The Triple Tradition will again be dealt with, meanwhile the reader is referred for a reproduction of this primitive document to A. J. Jolley's "Synoptic Problem," and Abbott and Rushbrooke's "Common Tradition."

‡ The name is a Greek abbreviation of Joshua, Jeshua, or Jehoshua = Yahveh the Help, or Saviour. Among the Jews the name was not uncommon.

the thickets on the marshy shores of lake Merom abounded in wild boars and buffaloes, attractive to Galilean hunters. Thence the river Jordan coursed to the lake of Tiberias a blue sheet encircled by yellow limestone hills the strand gay with flowers and luxuriant with cypresses, cedars myrtles palms olives, figs and vines. Fishing boats plied up and down the lake the fish being destined for the pickle barrel. Many towns and villages fringed the water—Caper-naum where a caravan road wound along the shore, Bethsaida, Chorazin, etc., and Tiberias, where imposing towers and colonnades and arches reminded the passer by of the art and culture of Greece and Rome. Galilee yielded from its well tilled soil a copious supply of produce—indigo, balsam oil wine and wheat. While Galilee lived its external bustling commercial life, with its crowded markets where merchants chaffered and beggars pleaded and children sported its teeming barns its animated groups of day labourers waiting to be hired its evening merry making and music,* it had also an inner life strong intense, religious. The Galileans preserved a stricter morality than did their Judæan kindred though they felt less respect for learning and their rough country speech (a dialect of Aramaic) excited the laughter of the more polished citizens of Jerusalem. Patriotic passion rose high. Zealotry flourished in Galilee and Galileans were the last defenders of the Holy City against the army of Titus.

Jesus was perhaps born at Nazareth, a hillside village. In this undistinguished place which was mocked by the wits in the question 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' Joseph the carpenter and his wife Miriam or Mary had brought up their somewhat large family, which included (besides Jesus) James Josès Judah Simon, and two or more daughters. If tradition speaks truly of the rigid and Essenic habits of Jesus's brother James (p. 12) we have ground for picturing to ourselves a puritan household much given to devout practices. The language used by Jesus points to his working class origin. He draws his illustrations from the d m cabin of the peasant, in which a candle must be lit to find a dropped coin, the corn chandler's measure, the vintner's wineskin, the artisan's

* Hausrath's Time of Jesus vol. 1, day 1.

Roman tyranny, formed his chief audiences. This fact is peculiarly seized upon by "Luke." In his anecdote of the publican Zacchæus watching the passing Jesus from the vantage of a tree-bough, in the parable of the Prodigals Return, in the story of the woman pouring ointment over the feet of Jesus, and the accompanying parable of the Two Debtors, "Luke" gives a vivid impression of the attractive gentleness of Jesus towards the poor yokels, artisans, and harlots among whom he had been born and bred. Towards children his attitude was so remarkable as to amount to an almost unique distinction in a great religious teacher. That he should take them up in his arms and bless them did not call for surprise, but that he should say, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven" greatly astonished the crowd, who perhaps dreamed of a kingdom supported by massive bulwarks, military triumph, and legions of angels. But he could assume a harder temper in his contest with Scribes and Pharisees*. They like himself, could speak with fervent expectation of the Kingdom of God some of them occasionally acted in a friendly manner, as when they warned Jesus that King Herod had threatened him, and they permitted him now and then to discourse in the synagogues. But bitter conflicts usually raged between the orthodox party and the heretic. They criticised him for eating with unwashed hands, drinking wine, and breaking the Sabbath, and sarcastically begged for a sign from heaven. He, in turn, flouted them for their formalism and hypocrisy, † their showy alms giving, their ultra pious phylacteries their minute tithings of the produce of the kitchen garden their avoidance of the duty of giving aid to their parents under the plea of the vow of Corban laid upon their property, their whitening of the outside of the sepulchre. Nor did his speech lack an

* The Essenes with whom Jesus had many points of resemblance are not named in the New Testament and only Matthew and "Acts" refer to the Sadducees—the sect who rejected the Pharisaic glosses on the ancient Scriptures and who saw no impropriety in secular politics. See vol. II sect. 22.

† As Grætz points out (History of the Jews II chap. vi.) the followers of Shammai and Hillel—the Pharisees—held a high moral standard and did not merit wholesale condemnation. See vol. II sect. 22.

nation Among the Jews Jesus carried his propaganda, fishing for men, sowing seed planting the grain of mustard, inserting the leaven His eloquence was democratic, the common folk heard him gladly He delighted to tell, and they to hear, homely allegories and interesting parables borrowed from the life of the farm, the city, and the court. A turn for paradox lent a piquancy to his speech—"the last shall be first," "whosoever would save his life shall lose it," and, if we may trust certain Gospel passages, he took pleasure in the putting of dilemmas "How can Christ, the Lord of David, be David's son? and the like. Besides his public teaching, he had a more private method, and, when the crowd had dispersed, he would utter thoughts and dreams which only an inner circle might hear In such quiet colloquies the whispered suggestion went round that the Son of Man might also be the Son of God,* the Christ, the King the Judge, the Master, the forgiver of sins, he that was greater than Solomon, greater than the Temple. What, then, more natural than that both Jesus and his followers should plan a journey to Jerusalem—a triumphal entry, a demonstration that the new era had come to the birth? Indications exist in the Synoptics that Jesus regarded the venture as perilous, and that the disciples faltered. In the spring of 35 (March-April) the little company of Galileans made their eventful pilgrimage. A shout acclaimed their view of the famous city, rising above the valley of the Kidron crowned with towers and spires. The rustic Messiah riding on an ass entered Jerusalem amid the smiling amazement of the citizens and the cheers of his peasant retinue. Here, where we should have expected the history to have become sun-clear and sharply defined, a mist of uncertainty descends and leaves us to conjecture, for this wondrous narrative which takes us from the crucifixion to the tomb from the tomb to the resurrection, and from the resurrection to the ascension into heaven remains unsupported by the slightest contemporary evidence We can imagine that an indignant raid against traders who desecrated the outskirts of the Temple was followed by altercations, arguments, accusations, an arrest, a scuffle (in

* The title "Son of Man" is much more frequent in the Gospels than that of "Son of God."

which a servant of the High Priest narrowly escaped a fatal blow) and the execution of the troublesome Messiah.

The conviction forces itself upon us that Jesus must have been from first to last, an obscure man so far as concerned the world of affairs and politics and literature. No author of distinction deemed his crucifixion worth a passing note. Even the Gospels partly bear out this conclusion. They represent him as homeless and in want of food and money, as oftentimes retiring from the multitude, hushing up miracles, and even forbidding his friends from publishing his Sonship. "Who is this?" the people of Jerusalem asked, not recognising in him any notorious figure. He lodged outside the city. His visit to Gethsemane was private. The men who arrested him did not know his face, though that of the "notable" robber Barabbas was familiar to the whole town. So modest and unpolished was his appearance that the soldiers saw in him an apt target for jest and mockery. To the Sanhedrim and Pilate and Herod he scarcely uttered half a dozen words. He was not even reserved for special execution, but suffered death with two common felons. One of his Christian biographers felt it necessary, perhaps, to account for the unimposing personality of Jesus, and referred to an Old Testament prophecy which thus pictured the Servant of God: "He shall not strive, nor cry aloud, neither shall anyone hear his voice in the streets, a bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench" (that is his step and deportment shall be so gentle). To these facts we may add the remarkable circumstance that the Triple Tradition reveals not a single incident of the career of Christ from his infancy to the beginning of his propaganda.

No *theology* could bear a much simpler character than that of Jesus. God was the father who listened with sympathy to prayer especially the prayer of the unaffected heart, who rewarded the sincere alms-giver and the loyal disciple and the minister to the sick and helpless, who provided food and clothing and who gave sunlight and refreshing rain even to sinners. To the "Holy Spirit" scant reference is made in the Common Tradition.* Jesus con-

* The writer of "Luke" and "Acts" gives a great expansion to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as the reader may see by looking at a

ceived of the Spirit as a divine effluence moving in the human breast, teaching the use of meet words, directing the actions, and opposing a celestial strength to the rebelliousness of devils. And when (if we may trust the Triple Tradition) certain critics derided Jesus as the victim of an unclean spirit, he turned angrily upon them with the menace that they who blasphemed the Holy Spirit should be held eternally guilty.

Angels play scarcely any part in the career of Jesus as described in the earlier version of the Gospel. Angels cluster about him as he wrestles with temptation in the wilderness. He speaks only in passing of the Son of Man's coming amid a throng of angels, and of the angels in heaven who know no sex. On the other hand, angels flit numerous through the pages of "Luke" and "Acts"—an incidental proof of the evolution of the Christian legend. A similar significance underlies the fact that the earliest gospel ("Mark") contains no mention of *dreams* and visions. These preternatural events appear only in "Matthew" and "Luke." All the Synoptics tell of a *Devil*, who tempts, thwarts, and acts as Prince of the evil world, and *devils* or *evil spirits*, who lodge themselves in human bodies, and produce disease and convulsions, and can be expelled by a power created by prayer and the discipline of fasting. There are "kinds" or orders among these malevolent spirits. They and Jesus parley with one another like rival champions. When driven out, they seek shelter in swine, or wander disconsolately in waste places.

Very little can be gleaned from the Common Tradition as to the nature of the Teacher's *Eschatology* (doctrine of the Last Things) and his ideas of Heaven and Hell.* Vaguely enough he seems to think of Hell as a fire of punishment for sin, and of Heaven as a region whence angels will emerge at the critical day of the Son of Man's glory, though he also believes† that heaven, like earth, shall pass

Concordance, and comparing the few allusions in Mark with the numerous uses of the phrase "Holy Spirit" (Ghost) in "Luke" and "Acts."

* Heaven is seldom named in "Mark," but very frequently (especially in the phrase "Father in heaven") in "Matthew." "Matthew," too, mentions hell much more than the other gospels.

† The passage occurs in the "Broad sheet of Iella;" see p. 23.

away. Even the eternal life which will reward the faithful presents itself in the Triple Tradition as a pale and non-descript anticipation. The later gospels ('Matthew' and 'Luke') however introduce a fuller doctrine and we hear Jesus dilate on the broad highway to destruction the narrow path of salvation the loyal servant who watches for the lord's return the five virgins who kept burning the lamps of greeting the ignominious expulsion of the guest who had not on a wedding garment the degradation of the servant who let his talent lie idle the separation of the wheat from the weeds which fed the fire and the resurrection of the just (Luke xvi. 14) and the unjust and the great tribunal before which gather the sheep and the goats—the souls on the right hand passing into the realms of life because they had shown mercy and pity, and those on the left vanishing into the abyss because they had neglected the claims of holy charity * Less impressively the note of judgment sounds in the parables which relate the doom of the wicked vine dressers, and of the people who insolently rejected the invitation to the royal feast. The fires of Gehenna flicker about the unhappy Rich Man who gazes upwards at the ravishing scene where Lazarus the Beggar reclines at ease on the breast of Abraham.

In his *Ethics* Jesus laid stress upon Right Disposition and Right Conduct,† and never upon beliefs or opinions or ceremonial compliances ‡ Though a disciple of the Baptist, he did not baptise. The Sacred Meal itself was an occasion for fraternal converse, and (according to the Gospel account) affectionate memorial, it in no way furnished a religious test and its very institution belongs to the most legendary part of his career—viz. the closing days in Jerusalem. The New People might not even utter oaths to lend a ceremonial value to solemn speech. God's blessing rested on the pure-hearted. Angry feeling and lustful emotion were crimes.

* The corresponding passage in Mark only represents Christ as sending out angels to gather in the elect. Nothing is there said as to the moral character of the elect.

† In seeking for the ethics of Jesus we are chiefly dependent on Matthew and Luke the moral element in Mark and the Common Tradition not being conspicuous.

‡ The condemnation of unbelievers in Mark belongs to the spurious section xvi. 9-20.

Meekness mercy, peacefulness, gentleness of judgment furnished the elements of the acceptable life. Out of the heart proceeded the holy train of virtues and the leprous brood of vices. A man would be justified or condemned by his words but only because the tongue betrayed the character. Conduct indexed the inner nature, and derived its worth from the motive. A cup of cold water, a small coin dropped into the Temple treasury, would win the smile of God, not for their intrinsic value, but because of the gracious heart that prompted the deed. And the Elect who, at the Day of Judgment, modestly disclaimed having shown pity to the suffering Christ received their title to the Endless Life, for the act of mercy was equally noble whether manifested towards the prince of heaven or the sad tenant of a gaol. Conduct was the fruit which commended a man to divine favour as being the outward and visible sign of an inward ethical temper. Jesus did not advance so far as Paul who denounced the Law as a prison house and flung away the Decalogue, and who taught the doctrine of a Moral Freedom which found in neighbourly love the mainspring of conduct. But if the prophet of Nazareth did not put a ban on the Law, he easily ignored it, and, in his scorn of Pharisaic rigour in the sarcasms he directed against the sham piety of the loud prayer, the ostentatious fast the conceited almsgiving the flaunting phylactery the folly of rigid Sabbatarianism, and the like he prepared the way for the yet broader gospel of Paul. Jesus reduced all the Torah and the complex system of the Scribes to two simple elements—the love of God and the love of one's fellow man. That God was not a jealous God came out clearly enough in the welcome accorded to the repentant spendthrift son and the returning sheep, and in the parable of the Two Sons, one of whom only rendered lip-service, while the other, having uttered a defiant "I will not," soon relented and with meek obedience took up the allotted task in his father's vineyard. And what love to one's neighbour meant Jesus displayed in the story of the Piteous Samaritan. At times, indeed, the benevolence of Jesus lost itself in a morbid and preternatural sweetness. Not merely would the Saint, mindful of his own frequent offences cherish lenience of judgment and forgive an occasional debt or personal insult, but he would extend the

forgiveness to seventy times seven, receive the mocking blow and bear the robber's violence without a protest, and even, in a passionate revenge of love, pray for his despiteful enemies and bear them gifts of kindness. The Gospel legend itself faltered at such an exaltation of the grace of charity, for the teacher of forgiveness forgave not sinners at the judgment, the teacher of non resistance beat down the irreligious crowd with a scourge of small cords and the teacher of love to enemies hurled a curse against unbelieving Capernaum. A keen criticism might discern a like inconsistency in the Nazarene's doctrine of poverty. The poverty which he blessed made a path to heaven. Lazarus the beggar found ready entrance into the halls of consolation. The selfish farmer was rich, and a fool, but had he given his property to the needy, he could still have claimed riches in paradise. He that spread banquets for the penniless would find a recompense at the resurrection of the just. The wealthy young man who refused to dissolve his inheritance in alms might have had treasure in heaven. If the trustful disciple left caring for the supply of his material wants, he would, nevertheless be divinely provided for. The key to the doctrine lay in the often misunderstood parable of the Wise Steward, who exhibited so much evil skill in preparing for his expected dismissal, for the truly wise and prudent disciples would ensure their place in the eternal habitations by expending their earthly mammon in donations to the poor. They would relinquish a handful of jewels in order to win the pearl of great price. They would gain life by losing it. The bearing of the cross would end at a throne and the pain of voluntary eunuchism or the cutting off of an offending hand would result in future profit. All this betrayed inconsistency by retaining the idea of external reward in the form of celestial treasure while counselling the disciples to shake off the lust for wealth and good cheer. On the other hand while his doctrine took a materialistic form a general view of the career of Jesus as portrayed in the Gospels reveals the true fibre of altruism as expressed in his sympathy and compassion. And in self-denial on earth for the sake of glory in heaven a discipline was exercised which possessed a certain moral value. Paul seems to have travelled nearer to the ethical ideal. Sometimes he asked the churches to

Apostles "• The "twelve apostles of the Lamb" have their names written on the foundations of the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, and if, as we have seen reason to believe, that book has a Jewish origin we may conjecture that in some such conception of twelve messengers of the Word of God originated the Christian legend of the Twelve Apostles. Paul had but a poor opinion of three leaders of the Jerusalem sect—James, Cephas and John, he quarrelled with them, and as much as possible avoided them. The disciples generally appear to no advantage in the Gospels. Their low social position—they were fishermen, unpopular tax farmers, repentant prostitutes, etc.—did not form an insurmountable bar to enlightenment,† but the sequel (if we may trust Acts ii. 13) found some of the leaders still "unlearned and ignorant men." Jesus did, indeed, entitle them the "light of the world;" but the records furnish a grimly ironical commentary on the phrase. The disciples haggled over the question of their future rank, eagerly inquired as to the amount of recompense they would receive for their loyalty, annoyed the Master by their failure to "cast out" an evil spirit, continually misunderstood his speeches and parables, hung back when he enthusiastically pressed forward, forsook him at his arrest, and openly doubted the story of his resurrection. With these facts before us, we cease to feel surprise that none of the disciples of Jesus could produce a capable and trustworthy account of his career.

The very obscurity of Jesus, and the very ignorance of his followers, made all the more possible the growth of *myth* around his memory. Many social and religious forces converged towards the birth of a new Hero-legend. Those broad humanitarian ideas which the extent of the Roman empire itself encouraged, and which illumined the teachings of the Stoics of Seneca, of Apollonius, of Paul, of the more liberal schools of the Pharisees, the ominous breaking up of Jewish political life, and the readiness with which the Hebrew mind grasped at the promise of a Delivering Prince

* The subject of the Twelve Apostles is fully dealt with in a series of articles by J. M. Robertson in the *National Reformer* for 1887.

† Barnabas (chap. v.) describes the apostles as having been drawn from the ranks of great sinners.

or Messiah, the passion for apocalyptic visions of a new heaven and earth, the impulse, such as Philo embodied, to enlarge the sphere of religious speculation beyond the cramped limits of ancient scriptures literally interpreted, the inherited bias of Jews and Gentiles alike towards belief in the miraculous, the readiness with which the doctrines and rites of the varied faiths flourishing in and around the Roman empire could now flow together and interact—all these elements combined in the creation of the legend of Christ. They needed, indeed, the magnetic touch of a noble personality, though for that purpose only a perfectly natural character, such, for example, as that of the mediæval Francis of Assisi, was demanded, and the simple condition was fulfilled in the homely but inspiring presence of Jesus of Nazareth. The rest followed easily. The New People, who had already begun to separate themselves from the orthodox schools, seized with avidity upon the gospel of the kingdom of love, of willing poverty, of a swiftly-coming golden age. They surrounded the conception of Jesus with a vesture of miracle and divinity. They vied with him in the elaboration of religious ideas. They embellished his phrases, added to his doctrines enlarged upon his parables, widened his scope, and expanded his conception of the Moral Freedom. The process is evident in the evolution from the Triple Tradition to "Luke, and from the Jewish Jesus to the Universalistic Paul. But ere long the creative energy spent itself, and the New Movement slowly cooled into a Christianity which absorbed copious material from the many religions that environed it, gradually assumed a definite and orthodox form threw off the influences which it could not control and which it then stigmatised as "heresies," and subsided into a dogmatic system which would have shocked Jesus and maddened Paul.

The Jesus-myth was created by two forces—Jewish and Pagan.

I JEWISH.—The Jews placed strong faith in their ancient literature, and, without seeking to criticise statements or explain allusions by careful attention to the conditions under which they were uttered, gave a literal and superficial meaning to the words of the old chroniclers, sages, and poets. Add to this their belief in the possibility of miracles, and their invincible longing for a national Messiah, and from

these elements, when once the figure of Jesus had endeared itself to the popular mind, there arose a tendency to clothe Jesus with attributes and attach to his career extraordinary incidents, which would show him forth to all the world as the Fulfilment of Prophecy, and the Realisation of types and hints and foreshadowings. Was not Jesus a scion of the royal line of David, and representative of the race of Israel? "Matthew" produced a genealogy which traced him from Joseph the carpenter to the patriarch Abraham. Was he not indeed the fulness and flower of mankind? "Luke" found a genealogy, different from that of "Matthew," which marked a line from Joseph to the first man, Adam. Had not Micah pointed to Bethlehem, the birthplace of David, as the spot whence the majesty of Yahveh should reveal itself for the salvation of the Jews oppressed by Assyria? That was imagined as pointing to Bethlehem as the place of Christ's nativity. "Matthew" therefore told how Jesus was born at Bethlehem, nor did he refer to "a city called Nazareth" until after the return of the Holy Family from Egypt. But "Luke," impressed with the common tradition that Jesus was a Nazarene, first related the scenes which occurred at Nazareth, and afterwards, making inaccurate use of the fact that Quirinius had taken a census,* brought Mary and Joseph for a brief period to the village of Bethlehem. Had Malachi said that Elijah should re-arise as the messenger of God? John the Baptist was Elijah. Had Isaiah foretold that certain events should occur before his young wife's child should learn to speak? This young wife, or virgin (for the Hebrew term covered both), was Mary herself, the betrothed but as yet unmarried wife of Joseph, and the birth of John from the aged Elizabeth supplied an easy parallel with the birth of Isaac from the aged Sarah. Was not Adam the son of God? and had not God cried to Zion's king, "Thou art my son" (Psalm ii)? and had not the sages represented the Wisdom of God as taking visible form, calling to men at the city gates (Prov viii), or issuing from God's mouth and dwelling in Jacob (Eccles. xxiv), or as the potent image of God (Wisdom vii)? And had not Philo seen in the Logos the mediator between God and the world? And had not

* See vol. II, sect. 23

Enoch described the divine Elect One, the Son of God?* Jesus then must be the Son of God though one cannot help being struck with the timidity of manner in which the doctrine is introduced in the Synoptic gospels, the devils name Jesus the Son of God, the disciples so acclaim him the High priest questions him if that be his true title, but from the lips of Jesus the assertion never comes with convincing emphasis. Had not Pharaoh threatened the life of Moses, the deliverer of Israel? Even so Herod came near to slaying the infant Jesus. Had not Balaam prophesied that a victorious star should arise out of Jacob? "Matthew" could relate how a star led the Magi to Christ.† Had not Samuel been dedicated to God's service at an early age and received divine revelations while yet a child? The boy Jesus, too, recognised the Temple as the house of his divine Father and showed a preternatural wisdom in his discourse. Had not Israel been tried in the wilderness forty years, sustained by the divine word which called down bread from heaven tempting God's patience at Massah, and worshipping a golden calf? So Jesus must endure temptation for forty days, living by the word of God and not by earthly bread, refusing to test God unnecessarily and spurning the suggestion to fall down at Satan's feet. Had not the Old Testament prophets cured lepers raised the dead, restored withered hands, cured diseases without touching the sick person crossed water by supernatural means, supplied and multiplied food and drink in a manner surpassing human power? And had not Isaiah foretold that the Servant of Yahveh should make the blind see and the deaf hear and the cripples walk? Jesus, then, in the due course of things, performed all these marvels. In the Old Testament the idea of possession by demons found scant support, though the case of King Saul might be quoted. But the age of Jesus fostered a fanatical belief in the power of evil spirits. Josephus blandly asserts that he saw

* The title "Son of Man" was probably used by Jesus himself. It had become familiar to the Jewish ear through the book of Daniel (vii.) and yet more through the book of Enoch.

† Barcochba laid claim to Messiahship in the second century. His name means "Son of the Star." In the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs "it is said of Messiah that His star shall rise in heaven as a king's."

Eleazar, in the presence of the emperor Vespasian, order a devil to leave a man's body and overturn a basin of water as he came out, and the devil had actually upset the water * The book of Enoch declared that devils caused sudden accidents, and that a protective power was exercised by the great oath Beka or Akae, and the Book of Jubilees† had a story to tell about the angels revealing to Noah the art of healing diseases inflicted by demons. Such secrets also did the Essenes preserve. Some exorcists drew evil spirits out of the nostrils by applying a magic ring. A wondrous spell lurked in the plant Baara, the root of which blazed fiery red, and, if broken off short, brought swift doom upon the gatherer, but, if securely culled, it would infallibly expel bad spirits‡. When Jesus said, "I beheld Satan as lightning fallen from heaven," he opened up a glimpse of the vast and weird system of Jewish *demonology*. In the belief of the Rabbis, Satan, or Sammael, incensed by God's creation of man seceded from heaven with a retinue of angels, and, having in the form of a serpent (the serpent then possessed hands and feet) led Eve astray, became henceforward the seducer and accuser of mankind, and as the Angel of Death Satan lets fall from his sword the drop of gall which enters the mouth of the dying, and induces pallor and corruption. Or in the guise of Ashmedai (Asmodeus, of Parsee origin) the master spirit of evil ruled over myriads of mischievous and spiteful Sheds. King and subjects alike trembled at the Ineffable Name of Yahveh, and it was by this name, engraven on a signet, that Solomon had subdued Ashmedai to obedience. The Sheds had various origins, some sprang from the union of Eve with male spirits, some from the union of Adam with female spirits, especially the beautiful and wicked Lilith, others were transformed from vipers. They swarmed in ruined houses, in groves, in places where filth collected, and they infected men with diseases and exposed them to accidents. In Jewish *angelology* the Rabbinic imagination showed a wild strength. But the Rabbis themselves acknowledged that the names of the angels (as well as those of the months)

* See p. 40 for the miracle attributed to Apollonius of Tyana

† See vol. II., sect. 23

‡ Hausmann's "Time of Jesus," vol. II., div. II.

came from Babylon. The host of the angels knew no limit, and every day saw new spirits created, even the words that dropped from the divine mouth took angelic embodiment. Heaven had seven stages: the First containing the sun, the Second, the moon stars, and planets, the Third, the mill stones which grind manna, the Fourth, the Upper Jerusalem, the Altar, and the Temple, the Fifth the Angels of the Ministry, the Sixth, the chambers of the hail snow, wind and mist, in the Seventh dwelt Justice, Judgment, Righteousness, Life, Peace, Blessing, and the souls of the good and the souls yet unborn, the Ophanim (wheel angels) the Seraphim (six winged and fiery), the Chayoth (living creatures) and the Supreme himself. Over the angels presided Princes, and angel princes also acted as watchers over the seventy nations of the earth. The chief princes were Metatron the angel of God's face, or the Logos, Michael, prince of wisdom and special representative of Israel, Gabriel, strong agent of God's judgments, Uriel angel of light, and Raphael, of healing etc. Of other angels, Dumah governed the realm of the dead, Yorgem regulated the hail, Ridya the rain and so forth. These nature spirits and celestial servitors were not purely good, and were inferior to righteous men. "Do you not know," Paul asked, "that we shall judge angels?" As bearing on their mythical derivation it should be noted that the Jewish angels were divided into 12 Mazzaloth (signs of the zodiac) each having 30 chiefs, each chief 30 legions each legion 30 captains, each captain 30 lieutenants, each lieutenant commanding 365 000 stars. Of this elaborate machinery of angels and devils the Apocalypse carries ample reflection. The Gospels betray the popular taste for demonology and angelology, though as we should expect from the simplicity of thought and the ethical earnestness of Jesus his doctrine shook itself free from many of the gross speculations of the Rabbis. We need feel no astonishment that an age which loved such marvels should have credited the new Messiah with power over the devil possessed swine of Gadara or the seven demons of Mary Magdalene.*

Had not the face of Moses shone with a mystic illumina

* For details as to Jewish beliefs on the subject of devils, etc. see Eilersheim's "Life and Times of Jesus" Appenices xiii. and xvi.

Cybele, or Ceres (Demeter) And one cannot quite suppress a suspicion of some underlying connection in the tradition which made Maya the mother of Buddha Maria of Hermes, and Mary of Jesus * The figure of the divine mother and child, afterwards to become so familiar to Christian eyes had its originals in Isis nursing Horus, or Hera suckling Herakles The story of the *Annunciation* would meet with little opposition on Egyptian soil, for the wall of the temple of Luxor told, in its sculpture, how Thoth announced to queen Mautmes that she would become a mother, and how the divine Kneph and the goddess Athor held to the queen's mouth the sacred cross (*crux ansata*) by which she was impregnated. The birth of the redeemer in a *stable* or as Justin Martyr has it, in a *cave*, † reminds us of the many sacred caves where Greek gods—Hermes, Apollo, Herakles etc.—were venerated. Hermes was born so the fabulists said, in a cave, and the worshippers of Mithra believed that the god had initiated his mysteries in a holy cave And the manger of Jesus suggests the basket in which the devotees of Dionysus carried the figure of their baby god. The beasts in the stable may connect the Christian myth with the Egyptian story that the sun-god Horus was born in the temple where the sacred cow and bull were kept Opinion as to the date of the sacred *Birthday* wavered for a long time various early churches observed the 24th or 25th April the 25th May or the 6th January (Epiphany) ‡ Inevitably however December 25th came uppermost in the popular choice, it was the birthday of Mithra, and the sun-gods of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Greece, and represented the commencement of a new solar career after the winter solstice Besides this the winter festival possessed a religious character among the Jews who on that day celebrated the Feast of Lights, and associated the old sun-birth celebration with the triumph of Judas Maccabeus The romantic tale of *the divine child in peril* had numerous pagan roots Not to speak of the case of Krishna, whose uncle, King Kamsa, sought to slay him, § we have

* For a number of curious parallels between Christian and Indian myth see vol. II. of this History "concluding section."

† Dialogue with Trypho "lxxviii."

‡ Bingham's Antiquities, "vii."

§ For Krishna myths see Robertson's Christ and Krishna."

the classic parallels of Romulus, whose great uncle plotted against the child's life and Cyrus, of whom Herodotus (1. 107) tells a picturesque legend. Astyages, King of the Medes, warned in a dream which portended, so the Magi interpreted, his death at the hand of his yet unborn grandson, had the mother watched till her delivery. The infant Cyrus however, was not slain by the courtier to whom the king had entrusted the task of murder, but was brought up by a herdsman, and played about among the cattle folds. At the age of ten he fell into the hands of his grandfather, who on the advice of the Magi sent the boy to Persia. Cyrus afterwards raised a rebellion, and Astyages, after revengefully impaling the Magi, suffered defeat, and the crown passed to Cyrus. A very striking example of the passage of pagan ideas into the Christian gospel occurs in the miracle of *turning water into wine*. Dionysus, sun-god and vine-god changed the water of the soil into rich grape juice, and at the annual festival of Dionysus at Elis, three sigons locked up in a chamber all night were always found full of wine next morning. The miracle of Jesus *walking on the water* presented no difficulty to the pagan mind accustomed to think of Poseidon (Neptune) striding royally across the sea. Even the cowardice of *Peter* may have been an ingenious development from the myth of the two-faced Janus, and Janus, who bore the potent keys who, as Ovid says, could bind or shut up all things in the universe, and whose symbol took the form of a ship, may have furnished the mythic type for the fisherman Peter, who held the keys of heaven and earth. One suspects indeed, that the Cephas of Paul's letters should not be identified with Peter. The incident of Jesus eating with *Seven disciples* by the sea of Galilee has a curious relation with the Catacomb paintings already noted (pp. 29-30). When, in underground Rome we look at the picture of the Seven Holy Priests (Septem Pii Sacerdotes) seated at a meal which comprises light cakes of bread-pastry, a fish, a fowl, and a hare, and when we note that the feast is held in honour of the god Sabazius (or Mithra), and that three of the priests wear Phrygian caps we naturally ask why other Catacomb pictures of seven men at a meal ought to be pronounced Christian? We may conjecture that the Fourth Gospel, in its episode of the seven disciples eating with

JESUS by the sea of Galilee, has given a Christian turn to a pagan usage. The *Good Shepherd* may have evolved from the pagan figure of a shepherd, in rustic costume, bearing a sheep; and this again may have evolved from the *Hermes Kriophoros*, who, naked except for a cloak at his back, carries a ram across his shoulders.* Perhaps solar mythology, that fruitful mother of so many religious fancies, may have produced the legend of the *crown of thorns*, for the crown may represent the circle of rays round the head of the sun god. Much obscurity still rests on the subject of the *Cross*, or *Tree*, on which the divine man died. The cross is one of the first signs a child learns to draw; it is a world wide symbol, it has borne many significations, and it has assumed a great variety of forms, many of which were pre-Christian.† The cross figures on domestic pottery dug up by antiquarians in the plains of Italy, and belonging to a period which ante-dated the rise of Rome.‡ The fire-god *Agni*, to whom the *Vedas* sing, was a child which sprang from the friction of two crossed sticks. In the temples of Mexico the conquering Spaniards viewed with astonishment crosses which the natives held sacred, and which appear to have represented the directions of the four winds. Other crosses betokened the sun giving out rays towards the four points of the compass. Solar crosses meet us in the Assyrian bas reliefs, in old Indian coins, among the ruins of Troy, as a sceptre in the hand of *Apollo*, in *Mithraic* sculptures, on ancient coins in Gaul. The "Tau," or T shaped cross, occurs in Palestine, Gaul, Germany, the Catacombs, and America. The prophet *Ezekiel* (ix. 4) saw God's messenger go through Jerusalem and make the sign of the Tau on the foreheads of the Just. Egypt invented the "*Crux Ansata*"—*i.e.*, the handled cross, a T shape surmounted by a circle or oval. Many conjectures as to its meaning have been essayed, such as, the Key of the

* Northcote and Brownlow's "*Roma Sotteranea*," part II., appendix, note C. Farrar's "*Life of Christ as Represented in Art*" gives pictures of the "*Good Shepherd*" from the Catacombs, but without warrant, describes these and other pagan designs as Christian.

† Anstault, in his "*Culte de la Croix avant Jésus Christ*," says that more than 200 pre-Christian forms have been noted. He gives a number of illustrations.

‡ G. de Mortillet's "*Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme*."

Nile, a phallus combined with a female emblem, etc. In any case, the device served as a hieroglyph of Life. The use of the Key of Life spread through Phœnicia, Sardinia, the North African coast, Cyprus, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. Early Buddhist carvings show similar crosses, capped by triangles instead of ovals*. Plato threw out a fancy that God had impressed the soul mark on the world in the form of a X (*Chi*). The *Chrism*, popularly known as the Monogram of Christ, existed before the birth of Christianity. This pattern may be described as a wheel with six spokes, to the head of the upper middle spoke being attached a loop, or in Greek letters, the monogram is a P (Greek *Rho*=R), with a χ (Greek *Chi*=Ch) lying across the stem of the *Rho*. Christian artists employed this emblem as if it denoted *Chr*, the first letters of "Christ". In the beginning this figure may have stood for a solar wheel. It was looked upon by the Gauls as an important amulet†. It has also been suggested that the monogram may have been the mark written in the margin of manuscripts by readers who desired to express their opinion of any passage as *Chrestos*=good‡. The *Tree*, which is three times named in the book of Acts in place of the "cross" of Jesus, served in the ancient religions as the centre of many a divine tragedy. For example, in the spring season, when the shepherds and peasants of Phrygia symbolised the death and resurrection of nature, they cut down a fir tree, sacred to Attis, clothed it with violets, dragged it to the temple of Cybele, the Great Earth goddess, and with shouts and sobs, pretended to seek the lost god among the hills and woods, and then, with joy to find him again§. Nor should we omit the astronomical feature in the myth of the cross, which supplied a very natural emblem for the passing of the sun over the equator at Easter tide.

The *darkness* which cast a gloom over the earth when Jesus died would not seem incredible to an age that believed in darkness accompanying the murder of Julius

* Goblet's "Migration of Symbols" chapters 2. to 7.

† *Ibid* chapter 3.

‡ J. I. M. de la "Chrestos."

§ For the worship of the Tree spirit see vol. 2 of this "History," section 25.

Cæsar and the death of Augustus * The *death and resurrection* of the divine Saviour were commonplaces in the religious faith of the ancient world before the Christian system appeared. Osiris, Attis, Adonis, Mithra—these sun gods suffered the pangs of death and rose again, and their worshippers were wont to show, in solemn miracle-play, how the god lay in his tomb, and how he emerged † The myth of the *descent into hell* easily followed on the legends of Osiris god and judge of the under world, Herakles, who fetched the three-headed Cerberus from the region of the shades, Persephone the seed maiden, whom Pluto kept as his prisoner and bride in his sombre kingdom, and Orpheus, the master of music. Orphic legends and mysteries came to Greece through Thrace and the East, and connected themselves with the worship of Dionysus or Sabazius. These mysteries had much to reveal to eager crowds concerning the future world. In picture and dramatic scene they were shown the divine Orpheus descending to Hades, and there, with his spell working lyre, reducing to tameness the wild beasts of the under world. The representation of Orpheus thus engaged often occurs in the paintings of the Catacombs; ‡ For the *Ascension*, also, Pagan mythology could offer precedents. The Sun god Herakles raised a funeral pile for himself on Mount Ceta, but while the flames raged a cloud descended from heaven, and then, amid peals of thunder, bore the hero to the sublime peak of Olympus where he lived immortal. Dionysus penetrated the dusky recesses of Hades brought thence the shade of his mother Semele and mother and son rose together to Olympus. Asculapius, as an infant, narrowly escaped death when a boy, he shone transfigured with an unearthly lustre, as a man he healed the sick and raised the dead and after being killed by lightning he was allotted by Zeus a place among the stars.

A note in this place may be given in explanation of the

* Strauss's *New Life* sect on 94

† Mr J. M. Robertson makes the very fertile suggestion that the gospel stories of the disciples looking into the sepulchre for the body of Jesus simply followed the pagan dramatic ritual in which the popular mind took delight.

‡ Article by Percy Gardner in the *Contemporary Review* March 1895

letters IHS, which often figure on altar covers and are commonly supposed to stand, in Latin, for Jesus Hominum Salvator (Jesus, Saviour of Men) The letters, however, are Greek and originally appeared as ΊΗΣ, or, in English, HULS, the E being sounded long This name *Hues*, which signified "moist" or "watery," was a title of the sun god and vine god Dionysus

The history of religion contains no more difficult problem than the collection from doubtful materials, of the probabilities as to the date, character, and career of Jesus So difficult, indeed, that, in support of the thesis that no such person human or non-human, existed at the time usually assigned to him in the first century, extreme critics can advance arguments which tax our ingenuity to answer On the other hand, the great religious movement at the opening of the Christian era requires a starting point, a stimulus, a preacher, a leader Paul and the Christian Church, and the New Testament writings direct us, confusedly enough, but still with a certain emphasis and conviction back to a strong personality The reader will perhaps allow that, in the view of the character and teachings of Jesus just given, there are no improbable elements for it is a very common thing in history to meet with earnest religious reformers who win loyalty, devotion and an admiration which almost rises to worship And this is all that is here claimed in the case of Jesus The intellectual conditions of the age rendered the growth of legend about his memory both inevitable and luxuriant, and the process would be so much the more easy if as seems reasonable to conclude, Jesus was known to only a small circle, and his missionary labour was untimely cut short

10 The Earliest Christians — 'After I am raised up I will go before you into Galilee So according to "Mark," Jesus had spoken to his disciples And "Matthew," after showing us eleven disciples gathered at a mountain in Galilee where they saw Jesus, and "some doubted," closes his gospel We can readily imagine that, on the execution of the poor Preaching Man, whom they had hailed as Son of God, the little group that remained faithful to his memory would hurry to the rustic quietude of their native

Galilee. There the doubters would remain glad enough, after their brief adventure in Jerusalem, to return to their fishing or tax-farming. Those who dreamed of, and then hoped for, and then declared their belief in the release of Jesus from the grave found their way back to Jerusalem, eager to meet with others who like themselves, were convinced that a New Age had broken. Unfortunately, our only guide to the doings of the earliest Christians—the Book of the Acts of the Apostles—lies under the most fatal suspicion on account of its conflict with the witness of Paul. But even in the case of Paul, while the writer fits his incidents into a special theory of the unity of the Christian Church (which we shall examine later), we may admit that he has preserved a certain rude outline of the great propagandist's life and labour. It is possible that, in the remaining chapters of the "Acts," he has sketched a series of events which bear a rough and distant resemblance to fact.

The humble Zealots, who believed that the New Kingdom had been founded by Jesus, held their conventicles in upper rooms. There they prayed together, and expressed the *surging enthusiasm of faith and hope in wild cries, or "tongues"* such as Paul afterwards gravely endeavoured to restrain among the labourers and slaves who formed the Corinthian Church. By degrees the New People ventured to press their gospel more openly upon the citizens, attracting groups of listeners by their rapt descriptions of a Day of Judgment, their call to repentance and to the purifying plunge of baptism; their exposition of the simple Essenian ethics of Jesus. *Their appeals were liberally garnished with quotations from the Torah, the Psalms and the Prophets.* Jesus, they insisted, had come to fulfil the Law, to place the headstone on the building of God's revelation. Still few in numbers, the Jerusalem Saints found no difficulty, at least for a time, in joining their spare property in a common fund. Having eaten the fraternal meal they would sally out to the Temple and pray together in Solomon's porch. Some of the bolder spirits essayed to cast out devils and heal the sick. Even priests enrolled themselves in the new sect. But trouble arose both within and without the society. The communism of the table and the purse led to jealousy and quarrel. The Sanhedrim took police

measures against the troublesome Messianists, several of whom served short terms of imprisonment. That a street not should end in a Greek saint (Stephen) being stoned to death by a mob need surprise no reader of the turbulent pages of Josephus. Two fresh disturbing factors affected the course of the new faith. In Samaria the Messianic preachers met with Gnostic rivalry, and the credulous Samaritans hardly knew whether to follow the eloquent Simon Magus or the persuasions of John and Cephas. From Damascus came Paul. Only for a fortnight could Paul endure the conversation of Cephas and James the ascetic. With the Saints of Jerusalem he henceforward declared war. They clung to the beggarly elements of the Law and the Temple. Paul shook off the dust of his feet as he left a city where the gospel of the Law of the Spirit of Life was completely misunderstood. He allowed but one link to remain between him and the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem, he promised, and he kept his promise, to collect alms for their poor. Even the book of Acts reveals the acrid dissension which took place between the Ebionite group in Jerusalem and the broader minded school of Antioch, and it records the singular fact that, not at Jerusalem, but at Antioch, the name of Christians first gained currency. Antioch rejected circumcision, and without scruple permitted sacrificial meat from pagan temples to be laid upon Christian tables. Jerusalem struggled hard to fence out of the new movement the Pauline doctrine of freedom. James even carried hostilities into Paul's own camp at Antioch, where a lively altercation occurred, which Paul has reported in his letter to the Galatians. Year after year, as Paul travelled toilsomely from city to city in Asia Minor and Europe, he was pursued, according to "Acts," by malevolent Jews, who had no connection with the New People. But his own account gives a different turn altogether to this race for religious supremacy. His enemies were the Jerusalem section of the New People. His feeling towards the Ebionite Christians who followed him every where and undid his teaching can be gauged from such expressions as "false apostles of Christ," "decentful workers," "false brethren," "I reckon that I am not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles," "some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife," etc.

were happy if they could but secure beds of straw Two Roman nobles Flavius Clemens and Acilius Glabrio, suffered death for adopting the creed of the despised Hebrews In after years legend magnified this incident into a wholesale persecution of Christians With Judaism other religions still competed for the favour of the Romans Serapis was adored, and Isis was hailed as Queen of Egypt and Goddess of the East The emperor himself claimed the divine *Juno* as his mother and an official document named him "Our Lord and God" Vicious in private life, Domitian aimed at public reforms, purifying the magistracy, overlooking the morals of actors, forbidding the mutilation of slaves into eunuchs, and burying alive a Vestal virgin accused of unchastity But while poets and orators strove for the gilded oak leaf crowns on the Capitoline hill grosser forms of recreation gained increased vogue, and, in the amphitheatre, gladiators fought, wild beasts rent their victims chariots raced and mimic sea fights excited the applause of the citizens Many honourable senators Stoics in religion and practice, fell by the sword The emperor was stabbed to death in 96

To the mild Nerva succeeded in 98, the admirable Trajan A lofty column at Rome recorded his campaigns beyond the Danube The profuse charity of the Imperial Government not only gave corn to the poor, but supplied food for 300 000 children throughout the Italian peninsula A certain splendour, for good and for evil marked the times—proud conquests, lavish expenditure a large and careless dissoluteness among soldiery and people at the table, the bath, and the circus magnificence of style and furniture in the villas of the wealthy an easy contempt for the fates which made suicide fashionable among both women and men a fine polish and intellectual elegance among the educated Great writers flourished, and the younger Pliny corresponded in familiar letters with the emperor

In Pliny's correspondence with Trajan a letter occurs* relating to the Christians which is either genuine, or so temperate a forgery that we may readily accept it as a picture of the new sect in Asia Minor Assuming its

* Book x, 96-97 The letters are translated by J. D. Lewis

genuineness, we find that about 112 Pliny, as governor of Bithynia, described to the emperor how a wave of the new religion had passed over the people, pagan temples had been for a time deserted, sacrifices almost ceased, and a number of the enthusiasts had been executed by Pliny's orders. Having had no previous experience with Christians, and there being no positive law against the Christian Way, he applied to Trajan for direction. He felt hesitation "as to whether any distinction of age should be made, or persons, however tender in years should be viewed as differing in no respect from the full-grown, whether pardon should be recorded to repentance, or he who had once been a Christian should gain nothing by having ceased to be one, whether the very profession itself, if unattended by crime, or else the crimes necessarily attaching to the profession, should be made the subject of punishment." He had brought to trial a number of suspects on the strength of a list in an anonymous paper. Some of them cleared themselves by offering wine and incense before the imperial statue. Others pleaded they had formerly followed the Christian teaching ("more than one of them as much as twenty years before") but had now forsaken it. "All these, too, not only honoured your image and the effigies of the gods, but also reviled Christ." To Pliny's inquiries as to the order of the assemblies which the Christians held, they explained that "they had been in the habit of meeting together on a stated day, before sunrise, and of offering in turns a form of invocation to Christ, as to a god, also of binding themselves by an oath not for any guilty purpose, but not to commit thefts, or robberies, or adulteries, not to break their word, not to repudiate deposits when called upon, these ceremonies having been gone through, they had been in the habit of separating and again meeting together for the purpose of taking food—food, that is, of an ordinary and innocent kind. They had, however, ceased from doing even this, after my edict, in which, following your orders" [Trajan had suppressed workmen's clubs and guilds in Rome] "I had forbidden the existence of Fraternities. This made me think it all the more necessary to inquire, even by torture, of two maid servants who were styled deaconesses, what the truth was. I could discover nothing else than a vicious and extravagant superstition,

consequently, having adjourned the inquiry, I have had recourse to your counsels.' Trajan's answer approved Pliny's caution, ordered the punishment of persistent Christians and the pardon of those who complied with the rites of the official religion, and deprecated any reliance on anonymous charges.*

Trajan on his way to subdue Armenia paused at Antioch, where he narrowly escaped death during the earthquake that shook the city to ruins (115). Whether the Christian leader, Ignatius, suffered martyrdom at this period and in consequence of the excitement raised by the terrors of the earthquake must be left an open question. Tradition represented Ignatius as condemned to an encounter with wild beasts, as journeying to Rome in the charge of a Roman guard, and as writing epistles to Christian churches while on the road to doom. Trajan had pushed eastwards, and touched the Persian Gulf, when tidings reached him of a great revolt among the teeming Hebrew colonies in Egypt and the neighbouring Cyrene. The fanatical fire spread to Cyprus and Mesopotamia. Vast numbers of Gentiles perished. Mad hatred the fruit of long insult and oppression changed the Jews into cannibals. The Jews gnawed the flesh of the dead and smeared themselves with blood. Vengeance overwhelmed them. Trajan's armies suppressed the rebellion. Henceforward, no Jew might land in Cyprus, if shipwrecked there he was put to death.

The active Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan in 117, journeyed year after year from one point of the empire to another—Britain, Spain, North Africa, Parthia, Athens, Carthage, and Alexandria. Athens held a place of high honour. Multitudes of students crowded to hear the philosophic lectures of the Sophists. Alexandria also drew hosts of intellectual youth to its Museum, its colleges, its Ptolemaean library. Here Hadrian took delight in conversations with the priests and theorists in whose speculations mingled the religious ideas of the East and the West. When he had ascended the Nile and visited the ruins of Thebes he turned to Syria, and directed that Jerusalem should be rebuilt under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*. At this time an imperial edict against human mutilation, and therefore

* See also Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire* chapter x.

placing circumcision under the ban had roused the anger of the Jews. The new works at Jerusalem and the construction of a temple in honour of Jupiter on the site of the House of Yahveh raised the anger to militant fury. Rabbi Akiba the most famous Jewish doctor of the age had preached the coming of a Messiah. When Ben-cosiba dared to stand forward as captain of the fiercest, and last, uprising of Jewdom against Rome, Akiba hailed him as Messiah and jubilantly changed his name to Bar-cochba, Son of a Star and became the new leader's armour bearer (132). From all sides the Jews flocked. Bar-cochba, flushed and defiant had struck a coinage of his own. The general Severus hurried from Britain to conduct the war. From hill to hill from fastness to fastness, the Romans hunted the unhappy Jews. Bar-cochba died fighting in the fortress of Bethar (135). Slaughter and sale into slavery swept the remnants of Israel out of their Holy Land. For centuries a scanty clemency permitted Hebrews to visit their beloved City only once a year—on the anniversary of its destruction—to weep over its dead glories and the memory of its Temple.*

Many notable literary figures adorned the period which lay between the Fall of Jerusalem and the death of Hadrian (138). Quintilian wrote his essays on rhetoric. Statius, brilliant verse. Martial, clever epigrams. Young Lucan's ill-disciplined muse sang of battles. Silius descanted prosily on the Punic War. the elder Pliny devoted himself to natural history. Juvenal threw off graphic satires. Tacitus penned his Annals. Suetonius narrated the lives of the Cæsars. the younger Pliny indited his agreeable epistles, Dion Chrysostom the friend of Apollonius, composed elegant orations on morals and politics. Plutarch portrayed the immortal Parallel Lives of Greeks and Romans, Josephus published in Greek his Antiquities of the Jews. While the catholic and humane pages of Plutarch met the applause of the cultivated world, another school of literature, humble, inelegant narrow but deeply earnest was created, to speak, in the shade and by ways of civilisation

* Menvalles. History of the Romans under the Empire vol. vii. Schürer's "Jewish People" div. i. vol. ii. Morrison's "Jews under the Romans" Penan's "L'Eglise".

This Christian, Jewish, and Gnostic literature we now turn to examine

12. Gospels The Synoptics (Mark, Matthew, Luke), Hebrews, Peter, etc — The New People, who looked for the speedy passing away of the world, and the inauguration of a Divine order, would naturally feel no humour for writing history. They might write letters of exhortation, such as Paul dispatched to scattered Christian societies, or compose Apocalyptic warnings of the coming judgments. But at first they would take little interest in reporting the details of the Master's biography. As time passed, however, and the heavens seemed slow to open and reveal the Son of Man, inquirers here and there began to gather up reports and fugitive reminiscences and commit them to manuscript in Aramaic or Greek. An examination of the first three of our received gospels shows that they possess remarkable likenesses in the words they use, and the events they relate. Because they present a common view of the life of Christ, they are termed the *Synoptics*, and the question, how to account for the resemblances and differences they display, is known as the *Synoptic Problem*. The solution of the problem appears to lie in the hypothesis that each of the Synoptics drew material from a document the very words of which (i.e., Greek words) they frequently retained. To take an instance, the words printed in italics occur in all three accounts of the calling of Matthew —

Mark *And as he passed by he saw Levi the son of Alphæus sitting at the place of toll, and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him.*

Matthew *And as Jesus passed by from thence, he saw a man called Matthew, sitting at the place of toll, and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him.*

Luke *And after these things he went forth, and beheld a publican, named Levi, sitting at the place of toll, and said unto him, Follow me. And he forsook all, and rose up and followed him.*

Reports of the speeches of Jesus often tally in these three Greek gospels, that is to say, though Jesus spoke in the popular Aramaic, the three reporters gave the same translation. The conclusion follows that the three writers copied from a manuscript now lost, and which furnished what we

may regard as the *Common* (or *Triple*) *Tradition* already referred to (p 81) A summary of this Common Tradition may now be given —

John the Baptist, the voice whom Isaiah had foretold, preached repentance and baptised the multitude and also Jesus Jesus endured a forty days' temptation He called four fishermen to be his disciples, and preached in Capernaum and the synagogues of Galilee He healed a fever stricken woman, a leper, and a paralytic In the latter case he pronounced forgiveness of the man's sins He argued with Pharisees, and declared that the new wine must be poured into new bottles On the Sabbath day he defended his disciples for plucking corn, and he healed a withered hand He appointed twelve disciples, warned the Pharisees against blaspheming, and pronounced his disciples to be his true kinsmen He told the parables of the Sower, the Lamp on the Stand, and the Mustard seed Having cured a demoniac, he allowed the devils to pass into the bodies of swine He healed an issue of blood and restored the daughter of Jairus After his rejection by the townsmen of Nazareth, he sent out the Twelve to preach John the Baptist was put to death A multitude dined on five loaves and two fishes Jesus walked on the water He was asked for a sign from heaven and refused He asserted that John the Baptist was Elijah and allowed himself to be entitled the Christ After predicting his death and rising again on the third day, he affirmed that his followers must take up the cross The transfiguration took place Jesus expelled an evil spirit, after the failure of his disciples to do so He indicated a child as a type of himself, and forbade any act that should cause the little ones to stumble His disciples he called the salt of the earth He prohibited re marriage after divorce, blessed the children, and advised a young man to sell all his goods since the rich man would not easily enter the kingdom of God To his disciples he promised a hundred fold reward He announced his intention of going to Jerusalem, though death awaited him He deprecated ambition such as Gentiles cherished Having given sight to a blind man, he entered Jerusalem in triumph, cleansed the Temple, disputed with the Pharisees concerning John, related the parables of the Wicked Husbandmen and the Corner stone, permitted tribute to Cæsar, asserted

that in the resurrection marriage ceased counselled love to God and neighbour, propounded the dilemma of David and his son, blamed the Pharisees for pride, prophesied war, persecution, the shaking of heaven, and the coming of the Son of Man ere that generation had passed, and admonished his friends to watch. A woman anointed his head with ointment. Judas betrayed him for a sum of silver pieces. The passover was eaten, and the bread and "cup" partaken of. Peter was warned of his approaching denial. Jesus prayed that the cup might be removed. He was arrested, accused of claiming the dignity of the Christ, mockingly asked to prophesy. Peter denied him. Pilate, after questioning Jesus if he were the King of the Jews, released Barabbas. Simon of Cyrene bore the cross. Jesus was crucified. The soldiers parted the garments. A superscription named him "The King of the Jews." Darkness descended from the sixth to the ninth hour. Jesus was offered vinegar. With a loud cry he expired. The temple-veil was rent. Galilean women watched his death. Joseph of Arimathea buried the corpse in a tomb. Mary Magdalene and another Mary visited the sepulchre. The stone was rolled away. The women heard that Jesus was risen and gone to Galilee. They departed —

Here the Common Tradition ends

The scribes of the first century used no punctuation, and wrote in capitals, the manuscript being made up of short lines. If the original Tradition was cast in the form of terse, abrupt notes the writers of later gospels would feel induced to expand the concise original. Let us imagine that the original notes contained a paragraph such as the following (it should be remarked that the same Greek word, *ti*, answered for "what" or "why") —

WHAT } DID MOSES COMMAND
WHY }
TO GIVE A BILL OF DIVORCEMENT
AND TO PUT HER AWAY HE
SUFFERED FOR THE HAPPY
NESS OF YOUR HEARTS

One transcriber might expand the note thus — 'And he answered and said unto them What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. But Jesus said unto

them, For your hardness of heart, he wrote you this commandment" Such is the version in Mark.

But another transcriber might give a different version, thus — "They say unto him, Why then did Moses command to give a bill of divorcement, and to put her away? He saith unto them, Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives. So we read in Matthew

In some such manner, and with the aid of materials procured from other manuscripts or from word-of-mouth tradition, the authors of the three Synoptics may have built up their biographies on the basis of a Common Tradition. On the subject of the date of the original document nothing certain can be advanced. It does not, however, seem unreasonable to assume that it circulated in the latter part of the first century.*

We have now to inspect the character and contents of the Synoptics themselves, and to make use of our meagre information as to the Gospel of the Hebrews and the Gospel of Peter.

MARK — With the exception of not more than thirty verses, the whole of Mark's gospel is practically embraced in the gospels of Matthew and Luke. This circumstance alone might lead us to suspect that so short a biography would probably stand earliest in date. The writer knows nothing of the virgin birth, nor can he produce any anecdotes of the Master's childhood. He opens at the open air propaganda of the Baptist. In one verse only he disposes of the legend of the temptation in the Wilderness. His view of Christ's power over disease stopped at a modest limit, for, while he tells how the people brought to Jesus "all" that were sick, Jesus merely healed 'many,' and, at Nazareth, Jesus 'could do no mighty work.' He makes Jesus say that neither man nor angel, nor even the Son of Man himself, knew the time of the great judgment. Matthew, according to many authorities, left out the words, "neither the Son," and they do not appear in Luke at all. He represents the Nazarenes as asking the blunt question,

* Abbott and Rushbrookes "Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels. Jolley's Synoptic Problem for English Readers, Cones "Gospel Criticism, chap. iii. Mr. Rushbrookes 'Synopticon' exhibits the Common Tradition in Greek, the various elements being distinguished by different types and the use of colours.

"Is not this the Carpenter? whereas Matthew tones the epithet down into the carpenter's son," and Luke renders it "Joseph's son." His Christ is more a man of action than of speech, and the moral teaching occupies but brief space. Yet the Christ impresses us as a personality endowed with a full measure of human characteristics—he glances round with anger, he sleeps in the stern of the vessel, he complains of want of leisure to eat, he sighs deeply, he looks lovingly on the rich young man, he notes with pleasure the discreet reply of the scribe. At numerous points the writer adds a bright word a dramatic phrase which lend attraction to the story—the people sit on the "green" grass, the transfigured Christ's raiment is so glistening that no fuller on earth could whiten it and the like. Such strongly Jewish sentiments as "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matthew gives this) do not occur. That the doctrine of Jesus marked a novel departure is hinted in the exclamation of the people, "What is this! A new teaching! The language presents interesting features. The writer preserves Aramaic expressions, but takes care to interpret them—*Talitha cumi*, *Ephphatha Abba*. The Greek is rough and plebeian, such as slaves and artisans spoke. Latin words and Latinised phrases seem to betray a writer familiar with the Roman tongue. Another curious mark of Latinism occurs in the account of the conversation concerning divorce. Jesus tells the Pharisees that if a woman 'herself put away her husband, and marry another, she committeth adultery.' Jewish law allowed no such liberty to women, but Greek and Roman law did.

Who was the author, and when did he write? The historian Eusebius has handed down a passage from the writings of Papias (second century) which runs—"The presbyter (John) used to say Mark having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that he remembered, though he did not record in order that which was either said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord, nor followed him, but subsequently attached himself to Peter, who used to frame his teaching to meet the wants [of his hearers] but not as making a connected narrative of the Lord's discourses. So Mark committed no error, as he wrote down some particulars just as he recalled them to

mind. For he took heed to one thing to omit none of the facts that he heard and to make no false statement in his account of them. And Irenæus refers to Mark as the disciple and interpreter of Peter, and many other writers bear a like testimony. It is not easy to detect in the mirror held up by Papias a clear reflection of the gospel now known to us as Mark's, nor does the gospel make the allusions to Peter which we might have expected. There is a John Mark mentioned in the Book of Acts. We cannot see reason to connect him with the gospel. Tradition usually makes Rome the place of publication, though Jerome asserts that the author took his manuscript to Alexandria and there issued it. Disputing scholars have set the date down to 70 C.E., 160, 120 etc. All that we can justly conclude is that 'Mark' preceded 'Matthew' and 'Luke'. No violence is done to probability by accepting this early Synoptic as a product of the end of the first century.

The last twelve verses of the gospel as it now appears in our Bibles lie under a deep suspicion of spuriousness. Important manuscripts do not contain them and some give a different ending to the gospel. The form of language differs from that used in the main body of the gospel. A late development of ideas seems to be indicated in the utterance, 'He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.' The attachment of such importance to baptism misrepresents the spirit of Jesus, belies the mild ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, and savours of ecclesiastical harshness. While the earlier part of the chapter directs the disciples to the risen Jesus in Galilee the later verses make no mention of any such appearance. An unknown hand added these sixteen verses some time during the second century. Irenæus quotes from them but with this exception no important writer cites the suspected paragraph before the year 325. It is marked as doubtful in our Revised Version.*

HEBREWS—Prominent among the early Saints we meet

* Carpenter's First Three Gospels. Cones Gospel Criticism. Abbott's Common Tradition. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament. Dr Davidson considers that Mark should be dated 120. This is on the supposition that the writer drew his materials from Matthew and Luke but the supposition is ill founded.

the poor and self-denying sects of the Ebionites and Nazarenes (p 20) These Jewish-Christians, if not originally one party, at any rate held many beliefs in common, and they coincided in the respect paid to a certain Aramaic gospel Jerome, writing at the close of the fourth century, informs us that he made a transcription of a copy of Matthew's Hebrew (Aramaic) gospel which the Nazarene Christians preserved in the Syrian city of Beroea, and that an older manuscript (he seems to refer to the original) existed in a library at Cæsarea Jerome also states that he translated the gospel "which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use" from the Hebrew language into Greek, and he interjects the note that "most people" regard this gospel as "the original of Matthew" A further reference in Jerome speaks of "the gospel which is called 'according to the Hebrews,' and was lately translated by me into the Greek language and the Latin, which also Origen often uses" The historian Eusebius says of Papias (the second century writer whom we have already alluded to) that "he has published also another relation of a woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains"—though this does not prove that Papias knew the gospel in question About thirty fragments of this lost gospel are imbedded in the writings of Jerome and Epiphanius, and other documents, Jerome quoting it as the gospel of the Nazarenes, and Epiphanius quoting it as the gospel of the Ebionites Some of the most notable of these passages run as follows —

"There was a certain man by name Jesus, and he of about thirty years, who chose us out And when he had come to Capharnaum he entered into the house of Simon who was surnamed Peter and opened his mouth, and said, 'Passing by the lake of Tiberias I chose out John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Zealot, and Judas the Iscariot, and thee, Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom I called, and thou didst follow me I will, therefore, that ye be twelve* apostles for a testimony to Israel

"The mother of the Lord and his brethren said to him, 'John the Baptist baptiseth for remission of sins, let us go

* Though only eight are named

and be baptised by him. But he said to them 'Wherein have I sinned that I should go and be baptised by him? except perchance this very thing that I have said is ignorance.' And when the people had been baptised Jesus also came and was baptised by John. And as he went up the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove descending and entering into him. And a voice out of the heaven saying 'Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased' and again 'I have this day begotten thee.' And straightway a great light shone around the place. And when John saw it he saith unto him 'Who art thou?' And it came to pass when the Lord had come up from the water the entire fountain of the Holy Spirit descended and rested upon him and said to him 'My son in all the prophets did I await thee that thou mightest come and I might rest in thee for thou art my rest thou art my firstborn son that reignest for ever.'

Be ye never joyful save when ye have looked upon your brother in charity.

In the prophets like wise after that they were anointed by the Holy Spirit utterance of sin was found.

And when the Lord had given his linen cloth [i.e., after the resurrection] to the servant of the priest, he went to James and appeared unto him. For James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour wherein he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he saw him rising again from the dead.

He took up the bread and blessed and broke and afterwards gave to James the Just, and said to him 'My brother eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from them that sleep.'

'And when he came to those about Peter he said to them 'Take, feel me, and see that I am not a bodiless devil (*daimonion*). And straightway they touched him and believed.'

Just now my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs, and bore me up on the great mountain Tabor."

The story of the woman taken in adultery is not to be found among the fragments.

Jerome distinctly affirms that Matthew the taxgatherer composed a gospel of Christ in Judæa in the Hebrew language and characters," but he adds, who translated it

into Greek is not sufficiently ascertained" Epiphanius had no doubt that the Hebrew gospel of Matthew was the same as the gospel according to the Hebrews. Yet, as the fragments above cited show, differences in the texts of the two gospels make themselves conspicuous. As to the date of the Gospel of the Hebrews, we may accept the tradition which throws it back at least as early as Matthew*.

MATTHEW—Again we resort to Papias as quoted by Eusebius. He is said to have written a book named "An Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord" (*Logion Auriakon euegestis*) and to have thus expressed himself in the preface: "I will not scruple also to put along with my interpretations for your benefit whatsoever in time past I learned well from the elders and remembered well, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the many, take pleasure in those who say much, but in those who teach the truth, nor in those who record foreign commandments, but such as were given from the Lord to the faith, and are derived from the truth itself. But if any one came in my way who had been a follower of the elders, I inquired about the discourses of the elders—what was said by Andrew, Peter, or Philip, or by Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from books as from a living and abiding voice." That is to say Papias preferred gathering up scraps of reminiscence and tradition in the course of conversation to searching among manuscripts. It is this Papias who tells us that "Matthew composed the oracles (*logia*) in the Hebrew dialect, and everyone interpreted them as he was able." Whence, then, came our canonical Greek gospel according to Matthew? Was it based on an Aramaic original? and, if so, was this originally the gospel of the Hebrews, or a variation of it? And what did Papias mean by the "*logia*," the Oracles or Discourses of Matthew? for the present extant Matthew contains the narrative of a life as well as reports of preaching. These questions must be left unsolved. With regard to the language of Matthew critics differ, some deciding that it evinces signs of translation from an Aramaic original, others that it possesses the

* E. B. Nicholson's Gospel according to the Hebrews.

character of an independent Greek composition. Of the numerous quotations from the Old Testament, part is derived from the Septuagint (Greek), and part from the Hebrew version.

A remarkable circumstance is connected with the first two chapters of this Synoptic. Though they appear intact in ancient Greek copies, yet Epiphanius declares that these chapters did not appear in the Ebionite gospel—that is, the old Aramaic version. When we reflect that the missing chapters give a narrative of the virgin birth of Jesus, and when we bear in mind that the Ebionites did not believe in the virginity of Christ's mother, we see reason to infer that the doctrine of the virgin birth, like other myths, had to struggle for existence, and that only by degrees did it creep into the accepted creed. Even in the body of the Matthew document inconsistencies of view occur. A Jewish bias comes out in passages which represent Jesus as sent only to the lost sheep of Israel, as forbidding the apostles to preach to Gentiles or Samaritans, and as promising the pride of thrones to the faithful Twelve. Only Matthew makes Christ (*in the "Pella broadsheet"*) warn the Saints against fleeing from Jerusalem on a Sabbath day. A strong Jewish tendency animates the passage: *'Till heaven and earth pass away one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished'*. Nevertheless, a broader outlook also characterises this gospel, as in the command to preach the evangel to all nations, in the praise given to the faith of the Canaanitish woman, in the menace that the Jews should lose the kingdom and the Gentiles gain it, in the visit of the Gentile Magi to the infant Jesus, in the noble reduction of all the law to two simple precepts of love to God and love to neighbour, in the parables that hint how the kingdom grows, not by judgments and catastrophes but like the gentle influence of leaven or the silent swelling of a mustard-seed. Yet the careful and frequent reference to the Old Testament indicates that the writer valued the Messiahship as a natural outcome of the old order, and not, as in the case of Paul, because Christ swiftly abolished an oppressive and cumbersome code. Another perplexing contrast strikes one between the vulgar love of legend on the one hand, as seen in the stories of the star in the east, the slaughter of the innocents, the coin in the fish's mouth, the

rending of the veil, the miscellaneous resurrection of saints at the crucifixion, the bribery of the guards at the tomb, and, on the other hand, the ethical fervour and engaging simplicity of the Sermon on the Mount. Yet, even in this sermon, matter arises to occasion the conjecture that the discourse has been re-touched. There is, to begin with, a certain disconnection between the parts, and we notice such peculiar leaps as from the subject of hypocrisy to that of laying up treasure on earth. In several important particulars of the Sermon the Matthew gospel would seem to give deliberate expansion to older forms of the discourse such as Luke contains. Luke's Sermon on the Mount* is briefer (vi 20-49), his four blessings on the Poor, the Hungry, the Mourning, and the Persecuted, are followed by four woes, which Matthew omits. And Matthew supplies unmistakable glosses to the blessings. In Luke Jesus says, "Blessed are ye poor," and this is an Ebionite sentiment, but in Matthew the text is modified into "Blessed are the poor in spirit." In Luke Jesus says, "Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled;" and the literal want of bread is in the Teacher's mind, but in Matthew the words appear, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness." There is a certain bluntness in Luke's expression, "Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh," which softens down in Matthew into the assurance, "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." Here, then, Luke would seem to represent the simple and popular teaching, while Matthew exhibits a refinement and overlaying of the older tradition.

We may see grounds for the conclusion that more than one hand left their marks on this gospel. Among the various elements which compose the document we may point to the two first chapters, with their legends of the Magi and the Massacre, etc., the Common Tradition, the portions expressing Jewish sentiment as opposed to the portions expressing broader ideas, the concluding verses, which suggest a later period, when the baptismal formula ("in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost") had come into general use, the apocalyptic docu-

* That is, the parallel passage in Luke, but Luke represents Jesus as first coming down to "a level place" before opening his speech.

ment which warned of the majestic return of the Son of Man, and the passages which speak of the church 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' "if he' (the sinner) "refuse to hear the church, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican" This latter passage deserves note, it uses language such as Paul would abhor, and indicates a society of Ebionite Saints who keep themselves aloof from unbelieving outsiders. The other gospels (Mark, Luke, John) do not mention the church (*ekklesia*). That parts, at least, of Matthew imply a considerable lapse of time since the events recorded is testified by the phrase, "until this day" the spot where Judas committed suicide was called the Field of Blood "until this day," and the unlikely tale of the bribed soldiers was bruited about among the Jews "until this day." No useful result is gained by attempts to fix the exact date of the gospel. Some critics even incline to place sections of it at a period subsequent to Luke. We may infer that, early in the second century, a collection of memoranda of the life of Jesus took a form which did not differ much from the Matthew document as we now have it *

LUKE.—As the first century was closing and the second opening religious inquirers and teachers, and literary men with Christian tastes, would naturally show some activity in picking up the scanty gleanings of history which time and the *precarious fates had more or less faithfully preserved*. To an educated convert, by name Theophilus, the writer of our third Synoptic dedicated his new life of Jesus with the following preface 'Since many people have undertaken to draw up a narrative concerning those events which have completed their course among us, even as they who from the outset were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word handed them down to us, it seemed good to me also having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write a connected account for you most excellent Theophilus, in order that you might attain exact assurance with respect to the matters you have been taught. The author who thus implied his dissatisfaction with previous gospels wrote better Greek than Mark or Matthew, except that Hebraic phrases

* Carpenter's 'First Three Gospels' Davidson's 'Introduction to the Gospel Criticism'

which is so largely made up of that Tradition—viz., Mark. Many passages show a strong resemblance. It is not so easy to make out the relation between Luke and Matthew. Luke's form of the Lord's Prayer displays extreme conciseness. "Father, Hallowed be thy name, Thy kingdom come, Give us day by day our daily bread, And forgive us our sins, for we ourselves also forgive everyone that is indebted to us, And bring us not into temptation." We might almost regard Matthew's version as an enlargement of Luke's. Certain paragraphs appear very much alike in Luke and Matthew. Possibly Luke took fragments of matter from the same written notes (logia) as Matthew. We do not possess adequate evidence to decide whether Luke or Matthew came first. Luke significantly modified the 'Pella document, which prophesied the days of evil by inserting the statement "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled"—a vague expression which seems to be an attempt at explanation of the delay in the appearance of the Son of Man.

A very conspicuous feature in Luke is a special section ix 51 to xviii 14. In this section Jesus wanders hither and thither in Samaria and utters many of those parables which meet us in Luke alone. It looks as if the author designed to give Samaria a place of honour in the scenes of Christ's pilgrimage.

In this case again we find it advisable to refrain from useless conjecture as to the date of the document beyond the assumption that it appeared in the early years of the second century. The writer probably lived out of Palestine; he has a manner of referring to places as "cities of the Jews" which betokens a Gentile writer addressing Gentile readers. Yet a poetic sympathy with the Hebrew religion and scriptures manifests itself in the skill with which he composes the hymns in the prefatory chapter. "My soul doth magnify the Lord" and "Blessed be the Lord the God of Israel." These hymns give a fresh and graceful expression to the spirit of the ancient Psalms.

Many years afterwards Irenæus attributed the authorship of the Third Gospel to Luke the companion of Paul.*

* Cone's Gospel Criticism. Carpenter's First Three Gospels. Davidson's Introduction.

PETER —Among the ancient Christian tombs in Akhmim, in Upper Egypt, the French Archæological Mission found, in 1886-87, a vellum manuscript which contained Greek fragments of the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Gospel of Peter. The recovered portion of the Gospel begins "But none of the Jews washed their hands, neither did Herod, nor any of his judges, and when they would have washed them, Pilate rose up and thereupon Herod the king bids that the Lord should be taken off, saying to them, Do with him [Jesus] as I bade you do." Then Joseph, "the friend of Pilate," enters (before the crucifixion) to ask for the body of the Lord. Jesus is insulted, and crucified between two malefactors. "But," the evangelist proceeds, "he was silent, as if in no wise feeling pain." The inscription, "This is the King of Israel," was affixed. Christ's clothes were divided by lot. One of the malefactors reproached the men who cast lots for the garments. Darkness covered all Judæa, and many citizens went about with lanterns. Jesus received vinegar and gall. Just before expiring he called out, "My Power, my Power, hast thou forsaken me?" The "veil of the Temple of Jerusalem" was torn in two. Men "drew out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him on the earth, and the earth was wholly shaken, and great fear came upon them." The sun shone out. Joseph buried the Master's corpse. "Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, when they saw what an evil deed they had done to themselves began to beat their breasts and to say, Woe to our sins, for the judgment and the end of Jerusalem is at hand." At this point the narrator changes to the first person, as if Peter himself spoke. "And I with my companions was grieving, and being wounded in heart, we hid ourselves." Scribes and Pharisees besought Pilate to place a guard over the tomb. The centurion Petronius took charge of the sepulchre. A crowd came "early in the morning, as the Sabbath was drawing on" to view the tomb in the garden. "And in the night, when the Lord's Day was drawing on, as the soldiers were on guard, two and two in each watch, there was a great voice in heaven, and they saw two men descend thence with great radiance, and they stood over the tomb." The stone over the entrance rolled away spontaneously. Shortly afterwards the sentinels

beheld "three men coming out of the tomb, and two of them were supporting the third, and a cross was following them; and the heads of the two men reached to the heaven, but the head of him who was being led along by them was higher than the heavens. And they heard a voice from heaven which said Hast thou preached to them that are asleep? And a response was heard from the cross, Yes." While the soldiers consulted as to the best course to pursue, another celestial figure descended, and entered the sepulchre. The soldiers fled to Pilate, who commanded them to breathe no word of what they had seen. Mary Magdalene came with a group of friends to perform the rites of embalming, but found the tomb open. Inside they descried "a young man" in a brilliant robe, who told them the crucified one was risen, and the women hastened away. The fragment terminates thus — 'But we the twelve [note the "twelve"] disciples of the Lord wept and grieved, and each of us in grief at what had happened withdrew to his house. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew, my brother took our nets and departed to the sea, and there was also Levi, the son of Alphaeus whom the Lord ———*'

Of the date of the gospel of Peter no certain indication exists. We may for the present, regard it as a product of the first half of the second century. There is reason to believe it was known to Justin Martyr †

A passing word may deal with a mysterious story which perhaps originated about this period. According to this story, Jesus was the son of Mary by a soldier named *Panther* (*Panthera Pandera*). Celsus picked up the tale, and inserted it in his "True Account, a work long since lost. In the third century Origen criticised Celsus, giving extracts from the Account. In one of these he quotes Celsus as saying that Jesus was born in a Jewish village, of a poor woman of the country who gained her subsistence by spinning and who was turned out of doors by her husband a carpenter by trade because she was convicted of adultery, that after being driven away by her husband,

* J. Pendel Harris. Newly Recovered Gospel of Peter.

† E. J. Dillon in an article on "The Primitive Gospel" in the *Catholic Literary Review* June 1893.

and wandering about for a time, she disgracefully gave birth to Jesus, an illegitimate child, who, having hired himself out as a servant in Egypt on account of his poverty, and having there acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, returned to his own country, highly elated on account of them, and by means of these proclaimed himself a God." And another passage states that "she bore a child to a certain soldier named Panthera."* Some scholars conjecture that the name Panther is an anagram obtained by transposition of a number of letters from the Greek word "Parthenos" = Virgin, the tale being a skit on the legend of the Virgin birth † A story in the Talmud concerning Jeschu, or Jesus, the son of Pandira, relates that he dwelt in Egypt for a time and learned the arts of magic, for practising which the Jews afterwards stoned him to death. In some obscure manner this Jeschu, who flourished in the reign of Alexander Jannæus (died 69 B.C.), appears to be connected with the tradition retailed by Celsus. The subsequent history of the story is not clear, but in the Middle Ages it was known to the Jews in the form of the "Sepher Toldoth Jeschu," or Book of the Generation of Jesus—an unedifying pamphlet which narrates the amours of Panther, the rival wonder workings of Jesus and the Rabbi Judas, the mock-crowning and scourging of Jesus, his death by stoning, the hanging of his body on a tree, his burial, etc. ‡

By the Syriac version of the Gospels discovered at Mount Sinai in 1892 the birth of Jesus is described in curiously inconsistent terms. The opening chapter of Matthew affirms that 'Joseph begat Jesus, though a few verses later, the writer affirms that Mary 'was found with child from the Holy Ghost.' Other interesting readings occur in this version, such as the question of Pilate to the people,

* Origen 'Against Celsus,' chapters xxviii and xxxii.

† J. Rendel Harris in an article on "The New Syriac Gospels," in the *Contemporary Review* November 1894.

‡ The "Toldoth Jeschu" is published with notes by Foote and Wheeler. An account of it appears in Earing Gould's "Lost and Hostile Gospels." Graetz in his "History of the Jews" (vol. iii., chap. xl.) thinks the Panther story, as given by Celsus, arose in the time of Bar-cochba, but he attaches no historical value to the "Toldoth."

Which will ye that I release unto you? Jesus Bar Abba, or Jesus that is called Christ? etc *

14.—**Various New Testament Epistles and the Book of Acts.**—Within the period we are now traversing there falls, as many critics judge, a considerable number of the tracts now included in the New Testament. With a rough approximation we shall follow the probable chronological order in which these compositions were issued.

The Epistle of James—An ethical circular went the round of the societies of Saints in the latter half of the first century. This document contains but few references to Christ and Christians. It bears the character of an impressive moral exhortation such as might have been appropriately addressed to any of the scattered settlements of the New People before they had evolved their definite doctrine of salvation by Jesus. The writer held Ebionite views. He was a Jewish Christian. His letter opens thus: "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes which are of the Diaspora, greeting." No clear identification of this James is possible. The idea grew up that James the Lord's brother had written the epistle, but even so late as the time of Eusebius many Christians doubted its alleged apostolic authority.

James's letter bears the stamp of sincerity and simplicity. Conduct rises above creed. The moral life stands forth as the essence of religion. Self-control is emphasised—patience under trial, steadfastness of faith, quiet persistence in loosening the soul from things unclean and vicious. Deeds, not voluble professions, commend a man's character. Upright dealing and practical sympathy towards the unhappy and forlorn constituted true piety. To cringe to the rich, to offer to the wearer of gold rings a more commanding seat in a Christian assembly than to a humbly clad brother, showed a mean and disloyal heart. The daily course should obey the royal law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and so tender must the Saint preserve his conscience that every small disobedience will cause him remorse as if he had broken the whole law of God. Works justified, works gave token of life, works gave fertility to faith, and

* J. Lindel Harris's article just quoted.

the kindly feeding of a hungry brother had a far higher value than empty declarations of belief. Especially did James, with fervent and pathetic suasion appeal for government of the tongue that unruly member which caused such fiery havoc of jealousy, strife, and war. Let the tongue learn the grace of modesty. Let all censorious criticism cease. Let proud anticipations of the future be suppressed, for life will pass, and riches flee away, and the divine Judge nears the door, and he will bring blessings only for the humble, the simple-minded, the quiet spoken. No oath must cross the Christian lip. The sufferer must check the rebellious curse, and ease his soul in prayer. The cheerful heart will find vent in pious psalms. The sick will ward off the nostrums of the physicians but trust to the anointing of oil by friendly hands, and to trustful prayer and to the mercy of a God who grants healing to the body and soft showers to the parched earth. The good man will grieve over the lapses of his neighbour and yearn to win him back to virtue. "He who converts a sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death and shall cover a multitude of sins." This beautiful exhortation knows nothing of Jesus as Redeemer or miracle worker. It breathes the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. It cannot be justly regarded as antagonistic to the teaching of Paul. The writer, like Paul, finds the moral law summed up in kind regard for one's fellow man. To him as to Paul this is the law of liberty, though he reaches the conviction by way of self-restraint and quiet contemplation rather than by the strenuous and Rabbinic argumentation of Paul.*

The Epistle to the Hebrews—Numerous guesses by Christian writers, ancient and modern have pointed to Paul, Barnabas, Apollos or Luke as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Facts are wanting to warrant any decision but certainly Paul did not write it, the style greatly differs from his and Marcion (in the middle of the second century) who revered the memory of Paul, did not admit this epistle into his Christian library. The writer had some affinity with the gospel of Paul, but his method

* Except when other authorities are quoted the chief guide for dates of documents, textual criticism, etc. in this section is Davidson's Introduction.

and taste followed the school of Alexandria. After the manner of Philo, he read deep meanings, prophetic suggestions divine foreshadowings in the laws and history of the ancient Hebrews. Possibly, like Apollos, he was "an Alexandrian by race." His epistle is the most systematic treatise in the New Testament. He consistently pursues his theme—that in Jesus Christ the Mosaic law finds its spiritual culmination and ultimate expression. He frequently quotes from the Septuagint, and not unseldom uses the language of the Book of Wisdom. Many extracts from his essay occur in the Epistle of Clement (to be noticed presently) *

Without preface, and without affectionate greetings such as Paul loved, the essayist at once unrolls his subject. God, who in old times had spoken to the forefathers through prophets, has now, 'at the end of these days, spoken to men through the Son—the heir of the universe, the fulness of the divine glory, the Firstborn who sits at the right hand of the supreme Majesty and who towers above the ranks of all the angels—even Jesus, who for a short space became a little lower than the angels "because of the suffering of death, that "by the grace of God he should taste death for every man. For the sake of his human brethren Jesus took on flesh and blood and liability to temptation and pain, and he vanquished the master of death, the Devil. To him therefore let the Saints look as to a new Moses, the builder of the spiritual house the Apostle and High Priest of the new order and let them beware of that unbelieving rebelliousness which brought so many Israelites to ruin and strewed the desert with corpses. A sabbatical rest awaits the people of God if only they will with wise diligence, obey the call and heed the appeal of the living and piercing Word. The great High Priest has passed into the heavens. The Saints may follow in his steps, and with meek confidence approach the throne of grace. All other priests bore the mark of human weakness. Christ belongs to the mystic and immaculate order of Melchizedek.

Here he pauses. Perhaps his readers will stumble at the appearance of a secret doctrine which will need so much

* Salmon's Introduction to the New Testament. Dr Salmon opposes the Pauline authorship.

study and insight to interpret. It is not his purpose to lay down elementary principles and discuss Repentance, Baptism, Laying-on of hands, the Resurrection, or the Judgment. Men who have heard teaching on these points, and received no good by it, he will leave to their miserable fate. His object is to expound higher truths to those loyal ones who in reliance on the immutable promise of God, endure with hope and courage.

Melchizedek, the royal priest of Salem, who had offered Abraham bread and wine and blessed him in the name of Yahveh God Most High, attracted the curiosity of the speculative. Philo regarded him as the Great High Priest. Some took him to be Shem, son of Adam, others pronounced him the Messiah*. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews pictures him as 'King of Righteousness and Peace, without mother, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God'. On this fanciful basis he constructs a theory of Christ's priesthood. Abraham paid tithes to Melchizedek, as an inferior makes offerings to a superior, and, since Abraham was the ancestor of the priestly tribe of Levi the whole Levitical order was thereby stamped as lower in the scale than the order of Melchizedek. Christ sprang from the tribe of Judah, not Levi, and a Psalmist (cx) had pointed to Christ as a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek. It followed, therefore, that Christ was a priest of a higher order than that of Levi. Levi stood for weakness, imperfection, incompleteness, constant need of sacrifice, Jesus stands for power, perfection, eternal existence, a final sacrifice. The old covenant vanishes, the new comes to bless mankind. All the multitudinous furniture of the Jewish priesthood—the tabernacle, candlesticks, tables, censers, the blood of beasts etc.—served as types and parables and vehicles. Heaven is now the tabernacle, and Christ the High Priest, who offers himself as sacrifice. The veil parts, the holy place lies open, the Saints may enter. Let those beware who have seen the open entrance, and yet have disdained to avail themselves of it. They contemptuously tread under foot the Son of God. Vengeance

* Article 'Melchizedek' in M Clintock and Strong's "Cyclopedia."

overshadows "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God." In a little while the Believers who have lost their property and endured reproach will realise the promises of God. Faith will buoy them through the waters of affliction. A sublime record of faith appears in the pages of Holy Writ, as embodied in the lives and patience of Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, the Judges, and the innumerable heroes who chose mockery and the scourge and prison and exile rather than betray their trust towards God. The Saints, then, heartened by such examples, must persevere in the way of grace. Not to the thunderclouds of Sinai do they look, but to the heavenly Jerusalem, gloriously animated with the hosts of the Redeemed, and secure under the protection of the Judge of All and of Jesus the Mediator.

Pastoral advice concludes the epistle,—strangers are to be hospitably entertained, marriage kept pure, the love of money avoided, religious teachers respected, strange doctrine shunned, insult borne with fortitude. Jesus died "without the gate." His people must be content to dwell apart without the gate of an evil world, and count it an honour to bear reproach for his sake. The Abiding City is yet to come.

The postscript, with its reference to Timothy, may or may not have formed part of the original document.

The date of the epistle eludes the closest search. Because the writer speaks of the system of sacrifices as in operation, some critics decide that he wrote before the fall of Jerusalem. On the other hand he never mentions the Temple. The point of his argument lies in the foreshadowing of Christ by the apparatus of the Jewish priestly system, and even if the Temple had passed away, he would still argue against reliance in, or a desire to revive, the sacrifice of animals on the altars of God. Of Jesus as a human person the writer gives no details whatever, beyond the general statements that he belonged to the tribe of Judah, that he suffered temptation, was crucified, and had now ascended to the celestial throne. To this author, as to Paul, such details may have possessed little interest. Firm in the belief that Jesus was the Messiah and the fulfilment of the Mosaic types, he attached no significance to local incidents and passing discourses. In the dazzling

brilliancy of the eternal High Priest, he lost sight of the homely features of Jesus of Nazareth.*

I. Peter.—The personality of Peter is shrouded in mystery. Elements of myth gather round the Simon Peter of the Gospels. The Cephas who appears in Paul's writings may or may not be the apostolic Peter. Scholars have contended with amazing zeal over the question whether Peter visited Rome. The "First" Epistle of Clement, which may appertain to the period 95-125, quotes Peter in a list of martyrs for the truth: "Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted, and contended even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good apostles. There was Peter, who, by reason of unrighteous jealousy, endured not one, nor two, but many labours, and thus, having borne his testimony, went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy and strife, Paul, by his example," etc. (v.). Where did this martyrdom of Peter take place? The writer gives no further details. Still later, two stories were told of Peter. 1. That he and his rival Simon Magus travelled to Rome. 2. That in Rome Peter and Paul amicably preached the gospel together. We must put the probabilities aside for lack of data.

The epistle begins:—"Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the Elect who are dwellers of the dispersion [? scattered churches] in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." In the latter province Pliny resided as governor. We can understand Paul writing to the Christian societies of Asia Minor. That Peter should do so excites our wonder. Peter the fisherman spoke Aramaic. Is it likely he would write Greek epistles? The letter makes no familiar and personal allusions to Jesus such as one would look for in the correspondence of an apostle. We have also to meet the striking fact that the writer copies the language of Paul's epistles; for example—*I. Peter*: "Not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts;" *Paul*: "Be not fashioned according to this world." *I. Peter*: "Offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable unto

* Davidson's "Introduction."

God," *Paul* "Present your bodies a living sacrifice, acceptable to God" *I Peter* "We, having died unto sin, might live unto righteousness," *Paul* "Being made free from sin, ye became servants of righteousness," etc. Parallels with the epistle of James occur, such as—*I Peter*: "Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a little while, if need be, ye have been put to grief in manifold temptations, that the proof of your faith might be found unto praise," etc., *James* "Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold temptations, knowing that the proof of your faith worketh patience," etc. Both writers quote scripture to the effect that "all flesh is grass," and both remark that "God resisteth the proud." Such features in the epistle of "Peter" cause the doubt to arise whether one of the supposed founders of Christianity would, with any sort of dignity, reduce himself to a plagiarist from other men's correspondence. When we add that the doctrinal tone of the document is Pauline, and exhibits no strong individuality, we may conclude that the epistle was written in the name of Peter by a Pauline Christian, or (more probably) that the name of Peter was subsequently attached. The date may be about the time of Pliny's letter to Trojan (112). Many critics point to Rome as the place of writing, the message in the postscript, "She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, salutes you," being interpreted to mean, "The Church in Rome salutes you." We proceed to summarise the epistle.

The author bids the Saints of Asia Minor take heart. They have been chosen by the foreknowledge of the Father, made holy by the Spirit, and sprinkled with the blood of Jesus. Through the risen Christ, an eternal inheritance has been provided in heaven. If they suffer trial and persecution, they ought to suffer gladly, for their endurance will win praise at the revealing of Jesus. They have received a gospel which the prophets of old knew not, and which the very angels desire to understand. Let the Elect, then, live calm and holy lives, for with the blood of Christ, the spotless Lamb, "foreknown, indeed, before the foundation of the world, but manifested at the end of the times for your sakes," they have been redeemed. [There is here close agreement with the Apocalypse, the Lamb legend is being Christianised.] The Saints are

the incorruptible race, they no longer belong to the fleshy race which withers like the grass. They are stones in a spiritual temple—a royal priesthood, a holy nation, the people of God. They must live in peace, obeying the civil rulers, honouring the “King.” Slaves are to submit meekly even to harsh masters, for Christ bore insults without prejudice, and even “his own self bare our sins in his body upon the tree.” To him, as to a Shepherd and Episcopos, they have returned as strayed sheep. Let wives wear the chaste garment of humility, and husbands give honour to women, as to weaker vessels. Finally, let the Christians be harmonious, compassionate, forgiving, pacific. The innocent Christ bore pain for the unrighteous, and, in sweet forbearance, went after his death to preach unto those “spirits in prison,” who were formerly disobedient “when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing.” Noah was saved by water, and so the baptismal water of the Saints typifies the cleansing of their conscience in the sight of God. Again, the writer exhorts to a blameless life, to prayer, to charity, to hospitality. “The end of all things is at hand,” when all men shall be tried by the divine test. As a “fellow-elder,” the writer beseeches the overseers of the Christian communities to tend the flock of God not for mere salary, but willingly and conscientiously, and when the Chief Shepherd appears they shall receive the unfailing crown of glory. Humility, humility—he pleads again. The roaring lion—the devil—prowls ceaselessly on the watch for souls. Patience for a little while will lead the loyal Saints to everlasting strength and perfection.

The reference to Jesus evangelising the “spirits in prison” reminds us of the heavenly voice which, according to the Gospel of Peter asked, ‘Hast thou preached to the Sleeping?’ *

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES (*1 and 2 Timothy and Titus*)—These three letters go by the name of the Pastoral Epistles, because they tender paternal exhortation and advice. Theophilus of Antioch in the latter half of the second century, quotes from them unmistakably. Marcion does not seem

* Davidson's Introduction.” Ramsay discusses this epistle in his ‘Church in the Roman Empire,’ and places it as far back as 80 C. E.

to have recognised or known them. We need not scrutinise the arguments which opponents and defenders of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles have elaborated in order to prove that these documents can or cannot be reconciled with the book of Acts, for the book of Acts cannot sustain a claim to historical accuracy. Rather should we rest our judgment on the general nature and language of the epistles. It is usual to group the three letters together, because of their likeness in thought and expression, and to admit that they must stand or fall together. There are 133 words which occur in this group, and do not occur in the acknowledged Pauline letters. If Paul really wrote these Pastoral messages, he must have composed them all about the same time, when his mind was steeped in a peculiar set of ideas and phrases. Or an unknown author may have issued all three in Paul's name. Or this unknown author may have taken genuine remains of Paul's correspondence and inserted matter of his own.

Of Timothy the New Testament tells us much, of Titus, little. Paul had indignantly defended his young Greek friend Titus from the illiberal Ebionites who called for the circumcision of all converts to the New Gospel, and the victory remained with Paul. Titus clung close to the apostle on his long and arduous journeys. He carried messages, he brought reports, he consoled and cheered his elder companion. Of Timothy Paul speaks in terms so endearing that the reader might regard Timothy as an adopted child—"Timothy, my fellow worker," "if Timothy come, see that he be with you without fear for he performs the work of the Lord, as I also do, let no man therefore despise him. But set him forward on his journey in peace, that he may come unto me, for I expect him with the brethren;" "Timothy the brother," "as a child serves a father, so he served with me in the propaganda of the gospel," etc. The story in Acts, that Paul himself circumcised this young man, altogether libels Paul's character for consistency.

Let us now inspect the (*Second*) *Epistle to Timothy*. The first greeting has the Pauline ring—"Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, according to the promise of the life which is in Christ Jesus, to Timothy, my beloved child. Grace, mercy, peace." Continually, says the writer,

he thinks of Timothy, he remembers the young man's tears at their parting, he looks back on his pious childhood. May this early piety bear fruit in fidelity amid hardships, may Timothy feel no shame because of his elder colleague's imprisonment. [Paul, then, is in prison] God has called them to this high mission, to tell of the abolition of death and corruption through the eternal Christ, and Timothy must guard with care the formula of wholesome teaching which he had learned from his leader. [A slight doubt crosses our mind here. Was it Paul's manner to lay stress upon a pattern, a formula of doctrine?] Sadness mingled with sweetness expresses itself in a personal reference. "All that are in Asia turned away from me, of whom are Phygelus and Hermogenes;" on the other hand, the kindly Onesiphorus visited the lonely prisoner in Rome, and rendered him little services made the more precious by sympathy. "Thou, therefore, my child, be strengthened in the grace of Christ Jesus" [A singular change of subject! One vainly tries to explain the "therefore"] Timothy must bear himself as a loyal soldier. He must warn his people against unprofitable theological jargon. "Shun profane babblings for they will proceed further in their ungodliness, and their work will canker like a gangrene, of whom is Hymeneus and Philetus, men who concerning the truth have erred, saying the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some. Howbeit"—[Does this prosaic and commonplace style of complaint resemble the fiery sparkle of Paul's anger with all who tampered with the divine gospel?] All good Saints, continues the writer, must be holy vessels and avoid lust, and cultivate a meek temper. "But know this, that in the last days grievous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of self, lovers of money, boastful, haughty, railers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy without natural affection implacable, slanderers [The most timid criticism cries halt here. Assuredly Paul had no love for such ungenial and sweeping censure of the whole world] "Evil men and impostors shall wax worse and worse" [Paul indeed knew how to scourge offenders, but not in such doleful commonplaces] "Preach the word, the supposed apostle goes on, "in season and out of season for the time will come when they will not endure the sound doctrine, but, having itching ears"—

[There speaks an irritable deacon, not the master who gave Corinth a prose poem on Charity] As to me says the writer "There is laid up for me the crown of righteousness [Not with such self-satisfaction would Paul have looked up to heaven] And now a light seems to break, and, in the closing lines we recognise Paul's familiar figure and voice—he begs Timothy to hasten to see him, Demas has deserted him, only Luke keeps him company in his cell, he asks for a forgotten cloak, for books and parchment, he confesses to a passing despondency for no man has supported him in his public trial but he feels thankful for he has escaped the mouth of the lion

The epistle gives rise to the conjecture (it can be nothing more than conjecture) that in the second century a Christian writer came into possession of a torn and faded copy of a letter from Paul to Timothy and filled in the blanks and wrote over the defaced manuscript.

Very few sentences in the *Titus* document remind us of Paul and it must be pronounced a well-meant fabrication. Its mode of speech, its references to church discipline and officialdom, its anxiety for the preservation of sound words—all point to a condition of the Christian societies far more settled and developed than the fugitive assemblies that listened to Paul's preaching in the villages of Asia Minor or the ports of Greece. The writer issues directions to Titus who resides in the island of Crete. He must appoint as presbyters sober men who marry but one woman. No bishop [is a bishop then a presbyter?] must brawl or be greedy after money; he must be temperate and teach sound doctrine. The Cretans liars and beastly gluttons as they are must be sharply reprov'd and both the aged and the young need warning against evil living. The Christian officer must exhort the slaves to be obedient and to keep from pilfering and all the community must submit with readiness to the civil authorities. It behoves the Elect to put away envy and malice in order to give token of the happy redemption which the gospel conferred upon them 'when the kindness of God our Saviour and his love toward man appeared, not by works done in righteousness which we did ourselves but according to his mercy he saved us, through the laver [baptismal vessel] of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit, which he poured out upon us

richly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour." Again the writer begs Titus to keep clear of barren disputes and legal hair-splitting and to shun the companionship of an "heretical man." The term is ominous.

All this nervous anxiety for the sound doctrine, and all this deprecation of religious controversy, reappear in the so-called *First Epistle to Timothy*, a letter which is manifestly non-Pauline. Again, the Pastoralist (if we may so call him) gives fatherly advice concerning a tranquil and devout life. The Saints must pay great respect to magistrates, and offer up prayers "for kings and all that are in high places." Women must prefer a puritan costume, and be quiet and affectionate, and gratefully accept the saving mercy that God extends to the child-bearing sex. Overseers (ἐπισκοποι, see p. 35) may not marry more than one woman, nor quarrel over wine-cups, nor let their children go unruly, and deacons likewise. Rules of Christian etiquette towards various ages and the sexes are composed for the supposed Timothy, and regulations drawn up for the support of women out of the alms of the community, candidates must be not less than sixty years of age, and of good character, while the younger women, who love tittle tattle and cast about for husbands, should on no account be placed on the church list. The writer rambles in one breath he prescribes wine for an uneasy stomach, in the next he passes to the Judgment-day, the duties of slaves, and the beauty of sound doctrine as opposed to unedifying arguments. He praises the contented mind. The love of money begets all kinds of evil. After godliness, faith, love, patience must the Saint pursue, and, if he has a full purse, let him open a generous hand to the needy and thus lay up for himself treasure in heaven. There are remarkable allusions which indicate a different set of conditions from those under which Paul wrote—the caution as to behaviour "in the house of God," the laying on of hands by the presbyters in the case of an officer ordained to oversee the church, the fierce condemnation of the devilish doctrines of celibacy and asceticism in diet, the "pious mystery" of him who was "revealed in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world received up into glory," and, finally, the animus shown against some heretical teaching which the writer condemns as a profane and misleading

"Gnosis" The Christian Saints turned a jealous and unfriendly eye towards the schools which were developing Gnosticism *

The Book of Acts — Justin Martyr may have known the Book of Acts, but no earlier references to it are clearly discoverable, and Justin does not speak of the book by name. The many attempts to identify its author with Timothy, Silas, Luke, etc., have failed. But that this book and the Third Gospel proceeded from one hand is proved by the considerable number of similar words and phrases and grammatical usages common to both, the fondness shown by both books for stories of angels, the prominence given by both to the work of the Holy Spirit, both exhibit a certain largeness of view which willingly embraces the world of the Gentiles. Besides this, the 'Acts' professedly connects with the gospel by its preface — 'The former treatise I made, Theophilus concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach, until the day on which he was received up' etc., though, by a strange oversight, the author places forty days between the Resurrection and the Ascension in the "Acts" and speaks of no such period in the gospel. We shall find it convenient to mention the unknown author as the Theophilist. Close inspection of the text has led some critics to the detection of several sources of information such as a document which supplied the Jewish Christ an material of the earlier chapters (1 to xii), and another document, of a more liberal tendency, which formed the groundwork of the later chapters †. To these we must add the manuscript of a log book or diary kept by one of Paul's travelling companions, whom we may call the Dianist. The log book passages (xvi 10-17 xx 5 15, xxi 1-18, xxvii 1-xxviii 16) jot down, in a terse and graphic manner notes on Paul's journeys — Setting sail, therefore, from Troas, we made a straight course to Samo

* Davidson's Introduction (Davidson rejects all three epistles as non Pauline and dates them 120-125 C.E.) Irenæus pronounces them all apocryphal (St Paul preface) A. Sabatier in his 'The Apostle Paul' expresses himself as doubtful though an appendix by Mr G. G. Findlay maintains the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles.

† A very thorough examination of the Acts was conducted by Dr H. Igenfeld in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 1893 and 1896.

thrice, and the day following to Neapolis," and so on, in business like sequence, and the *Diarist* shows much familiarity with seafaring life and language, as in the well known narrative of the voyage which ended in shipwreck in a cove on the Maltese coast. A unity of style, however, characterises the work, and all the Old Testament quotations are uniformly drawn from the Septuagint, so that the *Theophilist*, while dependent on manuscripts and traditions, put his own individuality into his historical sketch. At the same time he produces an odd effect by suddenly introducing passages from the *Diarist*, of whose presence we become aware by the unexpected use of the pronoun "we" ("we sailed away from Philippi," etc.) Nor does he take minute care to harmonise one portion of the narrative with another, as when, in one account of Paul's conversion, the companions hear the divine voice, and in another they do not.

More than once, in the preceding pages we have expressed distrust of the book of Acts. The reasons for this distrust we will now set forth.

1. There is a marked artificiality in the structure of the work. Though called the "Acts of the Apostles," the book deals mainly with two personages, Peter and Paul. Observe the curious parallelisms in the events related in each. Peter opens his series of miracles by healing a lame man, Paul's first miracle is the cure of a cripple. Peter's shadow effects cures and Paul's handkerchiefs restore the sick. Peter and his colleagues cast out devils, so does Paul. Peter triumphs over Simon the Sorcerer, and Elymas the Sorcerer is struck blind by Paul. Peter raises Tabitha from the dead, Paul raises Eutychus. Cornelius worships Peter, the people of Lystra worship Paul. Both are beaten publicly, both imprisoned, both miraculously released. Both are favoured with visions which reveal the opening of the kingdom to the Gentiles. Both possess the power of imparting the Holy Spirit. Both pay their devotions in the Temple. Then, again in the numerous speeches recorded by the *Theophilist* the style has no distinctiveness apart from that of the book—Peter, Stephen and Paul all talking much in the same general strain, and in the dramatic speech which Paul addresses to the mob from the castle stairs not one characteristic Pauline expression occurs though

then, if ever, we should have expected the warm hearted apostle to utter his thoughts in words such as glow and quiver in his epistles

2 The book does not harmonise with Paul's epistles. According to the Theophilist, Paul is brought up in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel. Paul does not mention this early residence in the Holy City, and he describes himself as a Zealot, whereas Gamaliel (see p. 44) belonged to the more liberal and broader mind school of Hillel. In Acts we see Paul taking part in the murder of Stephen, Paul's letters never allude to Stephen. The Theophilist tells how the newly-converted Paul spent some time in propagating his new views in the Ghetto of Damascus, and then joined the apostles and went in and out, debating and preaching boldly, on the other hand, Paul himself avers that, immediately after his conversion, he "conferred not with flesh and blood," but retired to the quiet of Arabia, then returned to Damascus, and then paid a fortnight's visit to Cephas at Jerusalem, seeing none of the other apostles except James, and being unknown by face to the Jewish Saints'. By the Theophilist we are told that Paul took part in a discussion at Jerusalem, at the close of which Paul was despatched to Antioch as a delegate, to publish the friendly compromise on the subject of circumcision, it having been resolved that, while the Gentile converts need not be circumcised, they should be enjoined to abstain from certain polluted kinds of food, etc. Paul gives us no hint of any such meeting, he declares himself indifferent on the question of food, whether procured from pagan temples or not, and he narrates a heated altercation which occurred between himself and Peter just after his second visit to Jerusalem. As to acting as deputy to carry the messages of a Jerusalem congress, Paul scornfully declares that he maintained an independent attitude towards the reputed "pillars"—James, Cephas, and John. The Theophilist represents Paul as circumcising young Timothy, Paul recounts how he energetically warded off the attempts of the Jerusalem saints to circumcise Titus, of this Titus not a word being spoken in the Acts. Of the dispute with Cephas the Theophilist says nothing. The Theophilist pictures Paul as shaving his head piously in token of a vow, and as devoutly performing certain purificatory rites in the Temple,

after the manner of a scrupulous Pharisee, while Paul, in the most eager and emphatic language possible argues through the whole length of his letter to the Galatians against the necessity of observing one jot or tittle of the old Jewish ceremonial after Christ had obliterated the Law for ever! In the book of Acts the gift of tongues takes the form of power to speak in various Asiatic and European languages, Paul gives us the impression that the "tongues" signified a faculty for mystical utterance, unintelligible to the hearers, but acting as a vehicle of communion with God. The Theophilist furnishes details of miracles wrought by Paul, the apostle himself gives not a single detail. And how is it that Paul tells to the Corinthians the tragic tale of five scourgings by the Jews, three shipwrecks, three castigations with rods attacks by robbers, etc., and the Theophilist omits many of these incidents?

3 The author of the book of Acts manifests a strong and persistent tendency to reconcile the Jewish Christian doctrines with the Pauline. From Paul's own descriptions and from the Synoptic gospels we gather that originally the Saints grouped themselves into two sects—the more conservative sect, which preserved its reverence for the Law, while recognising Jesus as the Messiah, and the advanced body, which broke away altogether from the trammels of the Mosaic system, and opened the kingdom of Christ to circumcised and uncircumcised, to Jew and Gentile alike. As time went on, and as the authority of the Law weakened its hold upon many of the Ebionite school after the destruction of Jerusalem a desire would naturally arise to amalgamate these groups and find a common basis of belief and doctrine. The Theophilist applied himself with enthusiasm and ingenuity to the task of writing the history of the early Christians in such wise that Paul and Peter, the Ebionites of Jerusalem and the Greek believers of Antioch might seem to work amicably together inspired by the same motives and pursuing the same end. The author had Paul's epistles before him and certain other documents, and he could pick up from this or that veteran or traveller more or less reliable items of recollection and report. From such elements he wove with a free hand a tissue of religious romance in which were fitly blended the Pauline and the Petrine conceptions of the new religion. One cannot but

admire the skill with which the Theophilist has worked, though it is a skill which has for ages obscured the real origins of the Christian system. He makes Peter generous towards the Gentiles, and Paul reverent towards the Law of Moses. But he proceeds with remarkable discretion. He avoids exaggeration. In the opening chapters Peter and his friends show due attachment to the old religious method. They frequent the Temple, they continually quote the Scriptures, they utter no disrespectful word towards the Law. Their ministrations meet with success. Thousands of citizens, multitudes of priests, join the new Way. And when an outcry arises against the Christians as contemners of the Law, the accusers fasten, not upon Peter, but upon the Greek Stephen. It is Stephen who sounds the warning note which prepares the reader for the contests between Paul and the orthodox Jews.* Stephen's speech resolves itself into a long argument to the effect that the Hebrews were hereditarily tainted with the sin of rebellion. No sooner has Stephen died than Peter takes a leap into spiritual liberalism by preaching to the despised Samaritans. Paul's vision follows, he is commissioned to evangelise the Gentiles. Peter still preserves a measure of restraint, for while the Jews of Jerusalem seek to kill Paul Peter goes about unharmed. But Peter must develop. He is taught by the vision of the beasts that all nations are eligible for the Kingdom, and he preaches the gospel to the Roman Cornelius. Through Barnabas friendly communication is established between the Jerusalem Saints and the Gentile converts. Then commences the long chronicle of Paul's missionary journeys, throughout which the Jews, beginning ominously with the hireling magician Bar Jesus, obstruct, interrupt, blaspheme, and persecute the Apostle of the Gentiles. Paul has not long been launched in this career, when the author deems it time to explain how the two active Christian schools formed a happy coalition. The question as to the need for circumcision is discussed, but without acrimony, Peter, Paul, Barnabas, and James contribute harmonious speeches, and the council of Jerusalem pass a unanimous resolution, which satisfies both Pharisees

* It is remarkable that the Pharisees, who confront one everywhere in the Gospels, appear on only two occasions in the book of Acts.

rises, in eagle flight above the poor maxims of the Law. Instead of this we listen to the following imposing period: "Giving thanks unto the Father, who made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light who delivered us out of the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love, in whom we have our redemption the forgiveness of our sins, who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation for in him were all things created in the heavens and upon the earth things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, all things have been created through him and unto him, and he is before all things, and in him all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the Church, and so forth. The tone changes a few verses later, and we recognise the Pauline voice in his reference to "the afflictions of Christ in my flesh" to the bestowal of grace upon the Gentiles, to the apostles keen joy in beholding the steady loyalty of the Colossian Saints. In the remainder of the epistle (from 11:8) the reader sways doubtfully between one inference and another. The Pauline gospel finds expression in the slighting words used towards circumcision, and towards the observance of Pharisaic rules of diet, and the keeping of festivals and sabbaths, in the exhortation to purge the soul from earthly passions, in the picture of the New Man who is free from all the local marks of Greek, Jew, slave or free-man, in the counselling of mutual peace and forbearance and pure speech, and the final pages, with their thoughtful and detailed messages and salutations are completely characteristic of Paul, and chime in with the personal allusions in the letter to his friend Philemon. On the other hand, we come upon terms which seem to point to a later stage of religious evolution than Paul's contemporaries knew. That Paul should have to oppose the ritualistic tendencies of the Jerusalem Saints we can understand, but the Colossian letter denounces the pietist who worships angels. The doctrine of the Christ righteousness which invests the Saint and rescues him from the ban and menace of the Mosaic law here settles down into a more comfortable assurance of trespasses forgiven. "The Lord Christ" is a title not used by Paul elsewhere.

The chief difficulty of the epistle lies in the passage

already quoted from the first chapter. It seems to betray a Gnostic interpretation of the early Christian doctrines in its scheme of Christ the Image of the unseen deity, the divine viceroy and representative, who takes precedence of all the celestial powers, and in whom concentrates the grand *pleroma* (fulness—a distinctively Gnostic term), and who brings back into harmonious relations with God all things on earth or in heaven.

We are again tempted to imagine that a half-effaced manuscript of a letter from Paul has been written over and interpolated by a Gnostic Christian hand many years after the apostle's death (about 120-130 C.E.)

The Epistle to the Ephesians—It is a curious fact that, in very ancient copies, the epistle commences "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus, through the will of God, to the Saints which are—and the faithful in Christ Jesus, the words "at Ephesus" being absent. This circumstance has occasioned the conjecture that, whether genuine or not, the document was intended as a circular letter, the blank being filled up with the names of various churches. Marcion knew this epistle, but stated that it was really addressed to the Laodiceans, and was referred to by Paul at the close of his letter to the Colossians. That the epistle to the Ephesians dated from about the same time as that to the Colossians is inferable from the close likeness between the two documents. Of the 153 verses in the Ephesian letter 78 resemble passages in the Colossian. The Gnosticism apparent in the Colossian composition expands into greater richness in the Ephesian. We will first glance at the few portions which suggest the hand of Paul, and then review the theological system of the epistle.

As Pauline in manner we may note the grateful passage "Having heard of the faith in the Lord Jesus which is among you and which you show toward all the Saints, I cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers," the declaration that in Christ the uncircumcised pagans might join in the blessings of the covenant of promise and rank as fellow heirs with the sons of Abraham, the call to meekness and unity, the description of the gifts which Christ metes out to his agents in the work of propaganda (ii.), the admonition to put away all bitterness and uncleanness, the enjoining of mutual love between

wife and husband and the picturesque metaphor of the spiritual 'armour of God' [which the writer may have adapted and enlarged from Paul's precept in Romans xiii]

Let us put on the armour of light']

The chief aim of the writing would appear to be an insistence on the superiority of the Christian gospel as the true Gnosis or knowledge. At this time the Gnostics were sedulously and earnestly publishing their mystical system of theology. The writer of the epistle determined to show that the Christian revelation included all that was of worth in the Gnostic teaching and could with entire legitimacy, use Gnostic terms such as *pleroma*, *epignosis*, *synesis*, *sophia*, *phronesis* etc.

Quite at the beginning the author plunges into a supernatural region. The Elect are chosen from the foundation of the world, God bestows on them grace through the Beloved One, whose blood redeems from the penalty of sins, who manifests divine Wisdom (*sophia*) and Prudence (*phronesis*) in whom the Pleroma of the Times takes visible form and who sits magnificently enthroned above the cosmic Powers. They who share in the saving life of Christ are snatched from the tyranny of the Prince of the Air power. It is an operation of pure mercy. Not by virtue of good works performed does God grant favour but *in order* that the Saints may practise good works. Between Hebrew and Greek Christ has broken down the partition.

A holy temple arises built of the Elect people with apostles and prophets [an un-Pauline view] for the foundation and Christ for corner stone or under a varied figure they are represented as one body grouped together by one Spirit in one hope, under one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all. In this unity the Saints will grow to the full development of the Pleroma of Christ. For this reason they must reject all lust and lies and give no place to the Devil [Paul always says 'Satan'] They will walk as Children of the Light. They will speak melodiously on sacred themes and exhibit an amiable and fraternal disposition in all domestic and social relations. Or, if they will choose the part of the warrior let them array themselves in the panoply of light. That will secure them against all assaults of the malignant spirits that throng the air and usurp the lordship of the evil world.

They will gird their loins with a stout zone of truth put on the breastplate of righteousness, walk innocently in the shoes of peace, raise the shield of faith to ward off burning slurs, guard the head with the helmet of salvation, and wield the potent sword of the word of God, ever proceeding on their pilgrim path with meek prayer and pious watchfulness. The conception is artistic, and we may doubt if Paul's quick and impassioned hand could have drawn so consistent and finished a picture of the Christian warrior.*

The Epistles to the "Little Children," to the "Ele t Lady, and to Gaius (it is in John) Of all the New Testament writers, none speak so much of God as the author of the epistle to the Little Children, and to him, far more than to the sensational dreamer of the Apocalypse, the title of the Theologian justly appertains. By that title, therefore we shall describe the unknown writer of the so-called First Epistle of "John." The letter of "Polycarp" appears to be the earliest extant treatise which quotes this first epistle.

A most cursory glance at this composition convinces us that here Christian speculation has taken a remarkable leap in advance. The epistle moves in an atmosphere of reflection, of refinement of calm certitude, of philosophic peace. It might have been written in a library, a cave, a lonely island. It proceeds from a spot where all the murmurs of the world are hushed. Its very preface, so devoid of the frank and genial salutations of Paul, subdues the ear. That which was from the beginning that which we have heard that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled concerning the Logos (Word) of Life (and the life was manifested, and we have seen and bear witness and declare unto you the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us), that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also that ye also may have fellowship with us, yes, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his son Jesus Christ. The style is that of a writer who communes with himself rather than addresses a correspondent. The

* Davidson's Introduction. Penan's preface to 'St. Paul' More conservative, but always interesting views of these and other moot points of New Testament criticism will be found in Dr. George Salmon's Historical Introduction.

"Little Children" are shadows Thoughts are repeated, no continuous argument is visible One might, without loss of the sense, read the fifth chapter first, and pass back wards The keynotes are Light, Life, Love, Propitiation Humbly confessing his sins, the believer is cleansed by the blood of Jesus, and enjoys fellowship with Jesus, and walks in the celestial light, the unhappy and ignorant world lies in the arms of the Wicked One, in the gloom of the outer darkness God is eternal life, and gives life to all who accept the gracious mediation of the Advocate, and to deny that Jesus is the true Propitiation is a fatal lie, it is antichrist it is the devil, it is death God is love, and the appreciation of his love awakens reciprocal love in the breasts of the Elect, and, in loving him, they love their human brethren even to the heroic laying down of life And to this gospel three sublime witnesses testify—the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood The Spirit is the truth and carries conviction of truth, the Water purifies by restoring righteousness, the Blood cleanses by removing sin

The date of the epistle must remain obscure We may judge from the cast of the Theologian's thought that he came later than the Synoptic writers *

The letter to the Elect Lady (ii John) echoes the sentiment of the Theologian—"love one another" antichrist denies that Jesus Christ came in the flesh, he who receives the teaching of love unites himself with the divine Father and Son etc But a less benevolent spirit utters itself in the caution against the teacher of other religious doctrines "Give him no greeting for he who gives him greeting partakes in his evil works The little document, written by the "Elder," perhaps dates about 130 C.E.

The short note addressed to Gaius (iii John) by the "Elder" furnishes an interesting sample of the letters which, no doubt, frequently passed between the Christian societies We can only regret that so little of this correspondence has been preserved In the present document the Elder praises Gaius for his steadfast adherence to the Truth, commends the kind hospitality with which he has entertained the itinerant preachers, throws in a jealous word against a rival

* DAY 1 on 1 page is 130 C E

leader, Diotrophes, gives favourable testimony concerning the disciple Demetrius, and closes with the hope of soon meeting Caius. The writer himself may have been a minister who made missionary circuits from town to town. In tone and temper this letter is still further removed from the Theologian's epistle than is the letter to the Elect Lady. Conjecturally we may assign it to the date 130. Even down to the time of Iusebius the sacred authority of the two epistles ii and iii 'John' was left in suspense.*

The Epistle of Jude—A Christian pastor of a somewhat vehement type wrote a letter to his flock to warn them against teachers of doctrines which he considered unholy. He calls himself "Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James" and hopeless attempts are sometimes made to connect the writer with Judas the brother of Jesus and James (Matt xiii 55).

Apocalyptic zeal imparts to this epistle a certain ruggedness and passion, and the strong language of the Book of Enoch is freely borrowed.

The writer beseeches his readers to keep uncorrupt the faith "once delivered unto the Saints" [An early Christian would not have so spoken]. He angrily denounces the heretics who have crept into the Christian churches, and denied both God and Christ. [The Book of Enoch has the passage, 'Denied the Lord of Spirits and his anointed']. He proceeds to give examples of the woeful fate that befell opponents of the true way of religion: the fallen angels who lie in everlasting chains [these are described in the Book of Enoch]; the doomed cities of Sodom and Gomorrah; murderous Cain; greedy Balaam; ambitious Korah. The false teachers show no reverence for authority and superior knowledge, they speak evil of dignities, for getting that even Michael the Archangel did not speak in temperately against the Devil. They are brutes, foul spots, waterless clouds, rotten trees, unprofitable scum, 'wandering stars' [an expression from Enoch] who are reserved for endless horrors. Then the Book of Enoch (i 9) is directly quoted. Also Enoch the seventh from Adam prophesied saying: Behold the Lord came with ten thousands of his holy ones to execute judgment upon all and to convict all

the ungodly of all their works of ungodliness which they have ungodly wrought, and of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him" [The writer clearly supposed that the Book of Enoch was a genuine production of the mythical patriarch] All these troubles, however, were foretold by the "Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who cautioned the Saints against the sensual mockers of the last times. Let the disciples, therefore, cling all the more loyally to the Faith, praying in the Holy Spirit, and compassionately pulling from the clutch of heresy as many of their weaker brethren as they could. And the Saints who remain true to the Christian Way will appear unstained in the presence of the glory of the Saviour God."

The animus shown against rival preachers—Gnostics, perhaps—indicates a period when the sect which was destined to create Christian orthodoxy began to separate itself from competing schools and assail them as heretics and accursed.*

15 Jewish Literature—We shall now glance at the progress of Jewish literature during this period (70-138 C.E.) Several Jewish writings were appropriated by the Christians and interpolated with Christian sentiments.

The famous Rabbi Akiba (see p. 116) belonged to an illustrious series of Tanaim or teachers of the traditional Law. He created much enthusiasm among the Jews by his method of interpretation of the old Mosaic Torah. In the words and expressions of the sacred Law he detected new meanings, new fountains of truth, starting points for new developments. With infinite pains he and his disciples methodised traditions and precepts with respect to the Sabbath, marriage property etc. into a collection which when afterwards completed, constituted the *Mishna*, or text of the Talmud. The Mishna existed only on the tongues and in the memory of pious Hebrews. Not for many years was it committed to manuscript.

Akiba had a disciple named Akylas. This Akylas came of a wealthy family from Pontus. At one time he had joined the Christians but he subsequently passed over to

* Davidson's "Introduction" Charles's edition of the Book of Enoch. Some critics fix the date at 140.

Judaism At this time the Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures had fallen into ill repute among the orthodox Jews on account of its being used and misquoted by Christians and Gnostics, and we have seen how the Theophilist cites from it in the Book of Acts. Akylas determined to make a fresh and pure Greek version, which should follow literally the Hebrew text. His *Greek translation of the Old Testament* was at once accepted as authoritative among the Jews, and employed for public reading in the synagogues.*

It was not till the year 118 C.E. that the book of Koheleth or Ecclesiastes, was received by the Jews into their sacred canon of scriptures. Hitherto this treatise, which savours so strongly of a sceptical temper towards Providence, had lain among the books regarded as doubtful †

A religious and national romance, now commonly known as the *Third Book of the Maccabees*, was composed in Greek in the first century B.C., or not later than 100 C.E. It recounted a legend which the Jewish youth would pore over with delight, and out of which they might draw happy auguries for the future. The story is briefly as follows — Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator, flushed with victory over his enemies, visited Jerusalem, and, notwithstanding the groans and sobs of the scandalized citizens, attempted to enter the Temple. Simon the High priest prayed to 'the all seeing God' and the king fell paralysed on the threshold of the Holy Place. Ptolemy returned to Egypt, brooding revenge. At Alexandria he issued an edict depriving the Jews of all privileges, and then had a great multitude of them old and young, herded together in the Hippodrome, or racecourse. A vast host of Alexandrians looked on while a number of elephants, excited by potions of wine were driven into the enclosure. The unhappy Jews embraced one another, and prepared for death under the feet of the elephants. Holy Eleazar besought God's pity. Two angels descended. The furious beasts turned and trampled on the royal troops. Ptolemy, horror stricken and repentant, proclaimed favour and protection for all Jews in his dominions.

* Graetz's 'History of the Jews' vol. II. chapters XIII. and XIV.

† F. Dillon's 'Scriptures of the Old Testament.'

A singularly different production is the so called *Fourth Book of the Maccabees*. It commingles, in the strangest manner, philosophy and legend. The author sets out with the proposition that the Devout Reason (*Logismos*) is strong enough to master all passions in the service of God. This is the opening "As I am about to discuss a most philosophical subject—namely, whether Religious Principle (*logismos*) be perfect master of the Passions—I should be advising you well by desiring that with all readiness of mind you give attention to philosophy. For, in truth, Reason (*logos*) is necessary to every person, as a preliminary step to Science, and, moreover, it contains within itself the recommendation of excelling in the highest virtue—I mean in Prudence," etc. The author would seem to identify the Devout Reason, or Principle, with the commands of conscience, before which the motives drawn from Pleasure and Pain submissively yield. He cannot, however, forget his Hebrew piety in his Stoicism, and he proceeds to illustrate his proposition by examples taken entirely from Jewish history. As examples of Self-control and Self-sacrifice he quotes David, unwilling to drink water procured at the risk of life by two of his young men. Eleazar who defied the order of King Antiochus, refused to eat swine meat, and died after his flesh had been stripped off by whips, the Seven Brethren who suffered a martyr-death by mutilation and fire, while their mother looked on enduring through the sight of their agonies worse pains than when she had borne her children. "Not so powerfully," cries the narrator "do the melodies of the sirens nor the notes of swans attract the hearers to listening as did the voices of these children in torments calling on their mother. With what and how great tortures was the mother herself tormented, while her sons were being tortured by racks and burning irons! But Religious Principle having in the midst of sufferings manfully nerved her mind gave her energy to look beyond the temporary calls of parental love." The book has come down to us in Greek, Latin, and Syriac.* Lusebius and other writers without authority, attributed

* Schreier's History of the Jewish People, div. II. vol. II. Dr H. Cotton's translation of "The Five Books of the Maccabees." The numbers of the books are often confused.

the book to Josephus. It may even have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem.

The *Fifth Book of Maccabees*, sometimes assigned to the period of Josephus, extends over a long series of events, from the attempt of the Syrian general Heliodorus to seize the sacred treasury in Jerusalem (1 c. 176) to the death of Herod the Great, c. 4*.

A portion of the *Sibylline Books*, or Oracles, were issued in Greek. The so-called Fourth Book mentions the fall of Jerusalem, and also alludes to the great eruption of Vesuvius, "when from the cloven rocks of Italy a fire returning shall blaze" [this is the future tense of the supposed oracle] "unto the broad heaven, and shall burn up many cities, and destroy the lives of men, filling the vast air with flaming ashes, and drops of bloody hue shall fall from heaven. Then shall men know the wrath of God, for that they slew the guiltless race of the pious." The Sybil calls on the inhabitants of Asia and Europe to repent for fear lest God shall overwhelm the world with fire and call men up to judgment, when the wicked shall sink to "Tartarus and the Stygian Gehenna." But the righteous shall dwell on a new earth. "And all shall see each other looking on the sweet, joyous light of the sun. How blessed is he who shall live in that time!"

These expressions call for close observation. The language does not point to Christians and there is no reference to Christ. We here find corroboration of the theory, laid down in a former section that the Apocalypse in the New Testament was an essentially Jewish book. Both the Apocalypse and the Sybil regard fire and calamity as a judgment upon the pagan world for its persecution of the people of God—*i. e.*, the Jews. But this Sibylline poem did not come from the pen of a Pharisaic Jew. The author praises the godly folk who give thanks to the great God before eating or drinking and offer no blood-dripping sacrifices, and live uprightly and in chastity. And in a striking address to the wicked the Sybil exclaims "Ye wretched mortals, lay down your swords, away with groans, and murder, and violence, and wash your whole bodies in the perennial waters, and raising your hands on high, ask pardon for past sins"—a

* Dr. Cotton (writing in 1837) states that the book is known only through Arabic and Syriac versions.

plain indication of the rite of baptism. In these few faint strokes we see a delineation of the New People, whose simple faith and manners had not yet reached the stage of the Christian gospel. The poem is written in Greek. It is noteworthy that the legend of Nero's expected return from the East is met with in the poem. Justin Martyr and other Christian fathers quote from this fourth Sibylline book. Its date was probably about 80*.

The "fifth" Sibylline book, another Greek poem, presents points of even deeper interest in its parallels with the Apocalypse. It repeats the dread anticipation of Nero's return. Rome is cursed as the wicked Babylon—"Who did not burn in the wrath against thee? What fallen king ever died in thee an honourable death? Ill hast thou everything disposed, thou hast brought in a flood of wickedness, by thee the fair frame of the earth is changed." A happy age will at last dawn, and the Jews will rest at peace from their foes. The Deliverer is at hand—"A certain excellent man shall come again from heaven, who spread forth his hands upon the very fruitful tree (*xulon*), the best of the Hebrews who once made the sun stand still, speaking with beauteous words and pure lips." This passage instantly arrests notice. It refers to Joshua. But is this Joshua a poet's creation—a transfigured Joshua? Or is it, as most critics deem, a picture of the crucified Jesus interpolated by a Christian hand? That the passage is an interpolation is not completely certain. We must leave the question open. The Messiah will build a New Jerusalem, a city more lustrous than sun, moon, and stars, and it shall contain a Temple. The sun will be extinguished and the moon. After the darkening of the moon a frightful war will sweep over the lands, and the great Adversary will conquer Macedonia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The Nile will freeze and Isis and Serapis be for ever destroyed, and a temple in honour of the true God shall arise on Egyptian soil. When this temple is raised by the evil hands of Ethiopians, the grand crisis will arrive, the stars will fall from heaven, and the world will take fire.

* Schurer's "Jewish People" div. ii. vol. iii. article on Apocalyptic Literature in the *Eng. Brit.*, W. J. Deane's "Pseudepigraph." chapter iv.

The poem was most likely composed in Alexandria. A list of Roman emperors in the opening lines reaches from Julius Cæsar to Hadrian, and speaks of a struggle among Hadrian's three sons. This latter event, however, was literally a prediction, and did not take place. The bulk of the poem may belong to Hadrian's reign (117-138). It is curious that, in the chronological list just mentioned, the emperors are denoted by numbers, somewhat after the style of the Beast in the Apocalypse, thus Tiberius is indicated as 300, this number being represented by the Greek letter T*.

Critics have found many enigmas to solve in a Greek book entitled *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The earliest allusion to it, and that a very doubtful one occurs in Irenæus. The perplexity arises from the unmistakable mixture of Jewish and Christian elements. According to the author, each of the twelve sons of Jacob left parting counsels for his descendants. Each patriarch tells his history, the story being enriched with legendary details (Haggadah) not found in the Old Testament, next, he warns against certain sins he has himself been prone to and exhorts to virtues he has himself displayed and finally (and here we meet the difficulty) he issues predictions in which Christian doctrines and terms freely occur. Reuben cautions against lustful thoughts attributes to female wiles the fall of the angelic Watchers before the Flood and extols the priestly tribe of Levi who shall offer sacrifice till Christ the High priest appears. Simeon deprecates envy, and prescribes that reverence be paid to Levi and Judah. Levi recounts the divine honours bestowed upon the priesthood, and speaks of a coming Redeemer. Judah condemns uncleanness bids his children show love to the Levitical priesthood, and foretells wars which will rage until Messiah comes, and then the patriarchs will rise again. Issachar enjoins simplicity of life, and commands his sons to beware of Beliar (Satan). Zebulon advises mutual forgiveness and deplores the evils which dissension will cause until the Lord's coming. Dan censures the sins of anger and false

* Deane's "Pseudepigrapha." Penan's "L'Eglise" chap. 1. For the oldest Syriac book see vol. 1 of this "History of Religion" p. 135.

hood, and hopes for the establishment of the New Jerusalem, where the righteous shall dwell "Therefore," he adds, "draw ye nigh unto God and to the Angel that intercedes for you, for he is the Mediator between God and man for the peace of Israel" Naphtali describes visions which he had seen These visions revealed Levi as laying hold of the sun, and Judah of the moon, and showed a scene of shipwreck, in which, at the prayer of Levi, the twelve patriarchs were saved from the shattered vessel Gad bewails his commission of the sin of hatred, and calls upon his children to show honour to Judah and Levi, for those tribes will give a Saviour to Israel Asher delineates the two ways of good and evil Joseph pleads for self-control, and tells of a Lamb of God, the child of a virgin, who shall arise out of Judah and Levi and save all the nations and Israel Benjamin advises purity of heart, and looks forward to the appearance of a Lamb of God and Saviour of the world, the undefiled and sinless one who shall annihilate the evil Beliar

It appears probable that the basis of the document, embracing the legends and the moral precepts, is Jewish, and that the Christian sentiments are inserted by later hands The Christian expressions sometimes break the connection of thought, and it is not at all likely a Christian would represent Christ as descended from both the tribes of Levi and Judah There is a reference to Paul in the Benjamin section, but it is omitted by several manuscripts

The Christian elements are interesting Christ is regarded as the Angel that intercedes for Israel The divine favour is miraculously shown towards him "The heavens shall be opened, and from the temple of glory shall come upon him consecration with the voice of the Father, as from Abraham, father of Isaac," reminding us of the baptism incident in the Gospel Christ is a Priest by Levitical descent, and a Man by descent from Judah At times the Christian author speaks of the Messiah as distinct from God, at others he makes them one "Ye shall see God in the form of man;" "God, having taken a body, and eating with men, saved man," etc. No incidents in the human biography of Jesus are related To this author, as to Paul, Christ was a divine figure, with very little human content

The date eludes us We may assign the Jewish docu

those that are spared, and that for four hundred years And at the expiry of those years, my Son, the Anointed One, will die—he and all who have the breath of life " A seven-days' silence will ensue, and then the dead will rise, the Most High will sit in judgment, the righteous will go up to the city of paradise, where grows the tree of life, and where their faces will shine as the sun, while the wicked will go down to the lake of torment, the abode of fire and everlasting sorrow Few shall be saved, nor will the intercessions of the righteous avail on behalf of the wicked * *Fourth Vision*—Ezra beholds Zion under the guise of a weeping woman She tells how, after thirty (or 3000) years she had borne a son—the Temple of Solomon—whb, on the day of his marriage, fell dead in the bridal-chamber—1 c, the Temple was destroyed The woman vanishes, and in her place stands the restored city *Fifth Vision*—This dream gives a clue to the date of the book of Ezra Over the broad earth flies a huge eagle, three headed, twelve winged, and with eight lesser wings The eagle represents an empire, the heads and wings stand for rulers One by one the wings erect themselves in token of sovereignty, and then disappear, until only a few remain The right head devours the left A lion, the Anointed One, upbraids the eagle for its tyranny The last wings drop off, the head dissolves, the body of the eagle is burned Assuredly by the eagle we must understand the Roman Empire Scholars give various interpretations of the wings and heads Possibly the wings denote a line of rulers and generals from Cæsar onwards and the three heads mean the three Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian Without naming a precise year we may, with fair certainty, accept the book as a composition of the last quarter of the first century *Sixth Vision*—Messiah rises out of a tempestuous sea, and waits on a mountain the attack of an innumerable host of foes He slays them with his flaming breath People approach him, some glad, some depressed, some in chains They are the ten tribes of Israel returning from exile *Seventh Vision*—Ezra is warned that the world

* This part of the vision is contained in a passage long lost, but now restored under the designation of the Missing Fragment It appears in the 'Speaker's Commentary'

Adam to Messiah At Messiah's advent all woe shall cease, and bliss and peace extend over the happy earth *Seventh section* — Baruch dispatches two letters one to his brethren in Babylon, and the other by means of an eagle to the nine and a half tribes that dwell in captivity beyond the Euphrates These letters hold out the promise of ultimate salvation

It is worth while to draw up some notes of certain elements in this Apocalypse The voice of God speaks directly to Baruch as well as by the lips of an angel While Esdras makes Adam the source of human sinfulness Baruch asserts that Adam was the cause of guilt to his own soul only Baruch's Messiah undergoes no suffering He crushes the dominion of Rome and bestows glory on restored Israel A Golden Age brings health and painless childbirth and renders wild beasts and serpents innocuous The carcasses of the monstrous Behemoth and Leviathan shall serve as food to the happy people and wine (as above mentioned) shall come in copious supplies from the vines In this kingdom pious Gentiles will be included At length a Second Advent will take place all the dead shall rise The righteous will inhabit the New Jerusalem and the wicked after a brief glimpse of the glory of the just will be hurried into eternal fire

Passages occur in Baruch which bear no small similarity to Christian utterances, such as — Ye bridegrooms enter not into your chambers ye women pray not that ye may bear children (Matt xxiv 19) If this were the only life which men have, nothing could be more miserable (1 Cor xv 19), "Blessed is my mother among them that bear children, praised shall she be among women" (Luke 1 42), "For what gain have men lost their life, and what have they, who were once on earth given in exchange for their soul?" (Matt xvi 25 26) The author of Baruch and the Christian evangelists may have taken such sayings from the conversation of religious circles, or the gospels may have substantially copied these expressions from Baruch Other words and phrases common to Baruch and the New Testament are "Faithful" "Those who believe" "The written law," "Promise of the life to come" "Saved in his works"

* Drummond's Jewish Messiah Schürer's Jewish People
d v 11, vol iii Deane's Pseudepigrapha.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah—This Jewish legend, of which the chief existing version is in Ethiopic, tells how Sammael (Satan) entered into King Manasseh and seduced him to the worship of Belial (or Belial, another name for Satan) angels and stars. Manasseh patronised magic, and persecuted those who served the Lord. Isaiah and other prophets fled to the mountains and lived on herbs. After two years Isaiah was arrested, and put to death by being sawn asunder. During his execution he withstood the temptations of Feliar and "continued in converse with the Holy Spirit." The legend as thus recorded, may date from any period of the first century. A Christian author has attached to it a piece known as the "Ascension of Isaiah" or "Vision of Isaiah." Isaiah passes through the seven spheres of heaven, beholding on his journey, the firmamental wars waged by Sammael and angels and thrones. In the sixth heaven he hears angelic voices invoking the "First" the Father the Beloved, and the Holy Spirit. Isaiah's death on a tree is foreshadowed to him. In the seventh heaven he sees Adam Abel Enoch and all the Saints, and he is informed that the Son of God will be slain on a tree and descend into Hades, and escape the hands of Sammael and return to earth and ascend to the seventh heaven. Next he watches the Lord and the Angel of the Holy Spirit both worshipping God Almighty, but the time will come when the Lord Christ will sit on God's right hand and the Angel of the Holy Spirit on the left.

This second portion may have been written early in the second century. The combined documents were afterwards added to and interpolated by Christian revisers.*

16 The Teaching of the Apostles (The Didache)—On account of its importance we consider the Didache separately, though it resembles the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in the fact that its Jewish groundwork has been

* Deane's "Pseudepigraphia." Schürer's "Jewish People" div. II. vol. II. A reference to the coming of Belial the Prince of this World is believed to point to Nero and Deane considers this part of the book as dating in 69. A singular theory broached in part III. (1896) of H. L. Enfield's *Zeitschrift* finds in the book an allusion to Peter's martyrdom in Rome and places the Veronian section in the period 64-68 C.E.

overlaid by Christian additions. Traces of its doctrine and phraseology are detected in the treatises known as Barnabas and Hermas. The only complete copy known is the Greek version discovered at Constantinople in 1873. The title, though commonly given as the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, appears in very early references as the "Teaching of the Apostles"*. Both in language and modes of thought the document points back to a Hebrew source. The original writing was most likely a little ethical handbook which was carried about by Jewish missionaries, or apostles, on their travels. But these apostles were not of the strict Rabbinic school. Their evangel took a broader moral form, and, in all likelihood, furnished a nucleus for the Christian faith. We propose to summarise the document, stopping now and then to note expressions which have the appearance of Christian insertions.

"There are Two Ways," begins the manual, "one of life and one of death, and there is a great difference between the Two Ways. The Way of Life is this. First of all, thou shalt love the God that made thee, secondly, thy neighbour s thyself. And all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have befall thyself, neither do thou unto another. Now of these words the doctrine is this. Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies and fast for them that persecute you for what thank is it if ye love them that love you? Do not even the Gentiles the same? But do ye love them that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy. Abstain thou from fleshly and bodily lusts. If any man give thee a blow on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect. If a man impress thee to go with him one mile, go with him two, if a man take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also, if a man take away from thee that which is thine own, ask it not back, for neither art thou able. To every man that asketh of thee give, and ask not back, for the Father desireth that gifts be given to all from his own bounties. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment, for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth, for if a man receiveth having need, he is guiltless, but he that hath no

* Lightfoot and J. R. Harris omit the "Twelve" in the headlines of their editions.

need shall give satisfaction why and wherefore he received, and being put in confinement he shall be examined concerning the deeds that he hath done, and he shall not come out thence until he hath given back the last farthing. Yea, as touching this also it is said, Let thine alms sweat into thine hands, until thou shalt have learned to whom to give" [apparently meaning keep your gift until you find a worthy recipient] The preceding is the first chapter. Thence, to the end of the sixth chapter, the ethical discourse proceeds without notable break, the Saints being warned against anger, zealotry [a reference to the Zealots?] lust, omens astrology, and blasphemy. 'Be meek' runs the advice, "for the meek shall inherit the earth." Disciples must pay reverence to the teachers who speak the Word of God, they must avoid dissensions, they must be cheerful givers. Parents must piously train children, masters refrain from bitterness, servants render due obedience. "In church" (*ekklesia*) 'thou shalt confess thy transgressions.' The Way of Death leads through murder, adultery, falsehood, idolatry, witchcraft, deceit, malice, lewdness, injustice, oppression of the poor man. As to diet, the Saints must 'by all means abstain from meat sacrificed to idols, for it is the worship of dead gods.

The seventh chapter turns on the subject of baptism. 'Having first recited all these things, baptise in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit [a Christian formula, evidently] in running water, etc. (see p. 31). The eighth chapter prescribes the duty of fasting.

And let not your fastings be with the hypocrites for they fast on the second and fifth day of the week [Monday and Thursday] but do ye keep your fast on the fourth and on the Preparation day [Wednesday and Friday]. Neither pray ye as the hypocrites but as the Lord commanded in his gospel [a Christian interpolation] thus pray ye. Our Father which art in heaven. Hallowed be thy name, Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done as in heaven so also on earth. Give us this day our daily bread, And forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from the Evil One. For thine is the power, and the glory for ever and ever. Three times in the day pray ye so" (see p. 32). Then follow directions for celebrating the Eucharist [thank-offering]

sound the dead awaken ' Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven

As to the date of the Teaching critical opinions naturally differ, but the character and style of the double elements of the book indicate that the Jewish original emanates from the first Christian century (perhaps the middle) and the Christian portions may have been attached not later than say, 170 C.E.*

17 "Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians.—The author of this Greek production does not give his name. A late second-century tradition assigned it to Clement of Rome. The first sentences which follow the opening salutation attest the agitated state of the church to which it is addressed. The church of God which sojourns in Rome to the church of God which sojourns in Corinth to them who are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Grace to you and peace from Almighty God through Jesus Christ be multiplied. By reason of the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which are befalling us brethren we consider that we have been somewhat tardy in giving heed to the matters of dispute that have arisen among you dearly beloved and to the detestable and unholy sedition so alien and strange to the elect of God which a few headstrong and self-willed persons have kindled to such a pitch of madness that your name, once revered and renowned and lovely in the sight of all men has been greatly reviled." He describes their former moral peace and purity. As illustrations of the evils caused by intolerance, he quotes the cases of Cain and Abel Jacob Joseph Miriam Dathan David the sufferings of Peter (see p. 140), the labours of Paul who after that he had been seven times in bonds had been driven into exile, had been stoned had preached in the East and the West won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world" [a very sweeping statement] "and having reached the farthest bounds of the

* Papers in the *National Review* November 1891 translation by J. B. Lightfoot (1 shop of Durham) in the *Apostolic Fathers* version and notes by K. D. H. Cheek and J. Brown and edition with valuable comments by Professor J. R. Harris.

West" From the subject of dissension he turns to that of repentance. A passage occurs at this point which seems out of place "Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ and understand how precious it is unto his Father, because, being shed for our salvation, it won for the whole world the grace of repentance Let us review all the generations in turn —and he enumerates examples and texts from the Old Testament Is the reference to the blood of Christ an interpolation? Other such difficulties will meet us presently, and increase our suspicion Types of obedience are next quoted—Enoch, Noah, Abraham, of hospitality—Lot and Rahab, and here again the "blood of the Lord" is incongruously dragged in as, being foreshadowed by the scarlet thread at Rahab's window Lowliness of mind is eulogised, and an embodiment of that virtue is pointed to in Christ "The sceptre of God even our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride though he might have done, but in lowliness of mind, according as the Holy Spirit spake concerning him,"—and then follows the oft-cited chapter from the Poet of the Restoration (Is. lxxv) descriptive of the meek Servant of Yahveh Further incitements to righteousness are found in Elijah, Elisha Ezekiel David The creative wisdom of God is extolled God orders the course of the stars and rules the seas and arranges the seasons Honouring God the Saints need not hesitate to offend "foolish men" 'Let us' the writer says at this point, 'fear the Lord Jesus whose blood was given for us Let us reverence our rulers —a conjunction of ideas which touches on the absurd After a hint at the Lord's coming again, the author discusses the Resurrection, "whereof the Master made the Lord Jesus Christ the first fruit when he raised him from the dead" A proof of the resurrection is brought forward in the Phoenix bird of Arabia, which when five hundred years old 'makes itself a coffin of frankincense and myrrh and the other spices into the which in the fulness of time it enters and so it dies From the decayed carcase emerges a worm, which developes wings "Then, when it is grown lusty it takes up that coffin where are the bones of its parent and carrying them journeys from the country of Arabia even into Egypt to the place called the City of the Sun, and in the day time in the sight of all, flying to the altar of the Sun it lays them thereupon, and,

this done, it sets forth to return. So the priests examine the registers of the times, and they find that it has come when the five hundredth year is completed." Is it, then, any more wonderful that the Creator should revive the bodies of men? In thankful recognition of this marvel, let the Disciples lead a holy, sober, humble, industrious life. Breaking off in the midst of these exhortations, he raises a hymn to Christ which soars above his usual prosaic style, and he glorifies "Jesus Christ the High priest of our offerings, the Guardian and Helper of our weakness. Through him let us steadfastly look unto the heights of the heavens, through him we behold as in a mirror his faultless and most excellent visage. Through him the eyes of our hearts were opened. Through him our foolish and darkened mind springeth up into the light. Through him the Master [*despotes*] willed that we should taste of the immortal knowledge."

An unpleasant controversy had occurred on the question of the election of officers in the Corinthian society. To appease the ill feeling our author diligently sets himself tracing the origin of the *ἐπισκοποι* and *διακονοι*, he says "The apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God and the apostles are from Christ. So, preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first fruits when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be Bishops and Deacons unto them that should believe. And he makes believe to quote from the scripture [here, as always elsewhere, he quotes the Septuagint] but changes the verse (Is lx 17) 'I will make thy princes peaceable and thine overseers righteous,' into 'I will appoint their Bishops in righteousness and their Deacons in faith.' After rebuking his correspondents for displacing certain estimable men from office, he appeals to them as "the ancient church of the Corinthians [this is a broad index to the date] to 'take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle [a reference to 1 Cor] wherein the sectarian spirit was strongly condemned. He then launches out in praise of the grace of love calling to mind the love of Christ, who "gave his blood for us by the will of God [this allusion to the blood is unlike the preceding cases, quite appropriate] and citing freely from the "oracles of God — *etc.*,

A remark of that general nature occurs in the gospels, but without the words, "one of my elect." These quotations are detached pieces of reminiscence, such as pass'd from mouth to mouth among the Saints, and they furnish no evidence of the contemporary existence of the gospels as now known to us *

18 The Epistle of "Barnabas"—Eusebius the historian drew up a list of "nothoi," or non inspired books—the "Acts of Paul" "The Shepherd" "The Revelation of Peter," "The Teachings of the Apostles," "Barnabas" Towards the close of the second century Clement of Alexandria speaks of this epistle of Barnabas as the work of Barnabas, the companion of Paul As a matter of fact, the authorship is undiscoverable Critics are almost unanimous in regarding it as an Alexandrian production It was written in Greek In our recapitulation of the main arguments of the epistle the writer's anti Judaic attitude will appear His object is to prove that though the perverse Jews did not perceive it, the Gospel plan was fully revealed in the Old Testament He builds up the new gospel on artificial Rabbinic foundations

' I bid you greet ng sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord that loved us, in peace ' So he begins After intimating that he is prepared to send them a trifle [*re*, the present essay] he proceeds "Seeing then, that the days are evil, and that the Active One himself has the authority, we ought to give heed to ourselves, and to seek out the ordinances of the Lord Sacrifices were displeasing to the Lord, and he quotes the prophetic contempt for the ' fat of lambs and blood of bulls The New Law of the Lord Jesus Christ has annulled the old sacrificial order Nor does fasting win acceptance with God The Saints must hasten to abandon such errors for the times pass, and the ten horned beast will soon come The sons of God must beware lest "the Black One effect an entrance" They must become a "temple perfect unto God Many are called, but few chosen "To this end the Lord endured to deliver his flesh unto corruption that by the remission of sins we might be cleansed, which cleansing is through

the blood of his sprinkling" The Son of God was Lord of the whole world, and to him God had said "Let us make man after our image;" he taught Israel, and performed miracles, he chose very sinful men as apostles to show that he came not to call the righteous, and he suffered "on a tree" Numerous texts are cited to show how Moses and the prophets foretold the manifestation of the Son in human flesh In the two goats employed in the Jewish Atonement, and in the slain heifer, he finds types of the suffering Jesus Then take circumcision Even Syrians, Arabs, and Egyptians practise circumcision But Abraham's circumcision differed, it embodied the Christian mystery, for did he not circumcise his 318 slaves? Now $318 = 18 + 300$ In Greek 18 is represented by I = 10, and H = 8, and these letters, wonderful to observe, are the initial letters of the name Jesus [IHCOYΣ], and in the letter T, which represents 300, we behold the cross

The writer pauses to congratulate himself and his readers "No man has ever learned from me a more genuine word, but ye are worthy"

Hidden meanings are divined in the prohibited foods of the Mosaic Law—the forbidden hyena, which changes its sex from male to female (), is an emblem of the adulterer, the detestable weasel, which is impregnated through the mouth, prefigures soul-mouthed women The brazen serpent and many other signs in the Old Testament typified the cross Moses broke the Tables of Stone the Jews lost the covenant, it was reserved for the Christian Gentiles The Sabbath day served as a pattern for the great sabbath of divine rest after the Judgment day The new world will begin on the mystical Eighth day "Wherefore also," says the writer, "we keep the Eighth Day [see p. 34] "for rejoicing, in the which also Jesus rose from the dead, and having been manifested ascended into the heavens" [on the same day, apparently] Finally, the old material Temple acted as a forecast of the spiritual temple, which consisted of the Saints

An appendix, possibly by another hand, then goes on — "There are Two Ways of teaching and of power—the one of light, and the other of darkness, and there is a great difference between the Two Ways For on the one are stationed the light giving angels of God, on the other the angels of

Satan" etc. The reader will recognise this as another version of the Didache. An epitome of the moral portion of the Teaching is given but without any Christian* expressions. In this epitome the way of darkness is also named the Way of the Black One.

The epistle may date some time between 95 and 125*.

Fruitless attempts have been made to find in the quotation, "Many are called, but few are chosen" and one or two other sentences, a sign of dependence on the Synoptic gospel of Matthew †.

It may be noted here that the term "Apostolic Fathers" embraces Clement, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias and Diognetus ‡.

19 The Rest of the Words of Baruch.—In 135 Barcochba died fighting for the freedom of Jerusalem, the soil of the Holy City was ploughed up, the new settlement of Aelia Capitolina arose on the ruins, and the Hebrews were forbidden to approach the beloved spot at any time except on one day of the year. But the prohibition did not extend to Christians and if the Jews accepted the Christian religion they might possibly secure the privilege of admission. In the opinion of Professor J. R. Harris, such a suggestion is thrown out to the Jews by an unknown author, who about 136 penned an apocalypse under the name of Baruch. It has come down to us in Ethiopic, and a Greek version has recently been discovered. The writer appears to have borrowed ideas from the Apocalypse of Baruch (p. 168) iv Ezra and the Ascension (Martyrdom) of Isaiah. The work contains nine short chapters.

The opening scene is laid in Jerusalem at the moment when the Chaldeans are about to enter and take the citizens captive. God bids Jeremiah and Baruch fly from the devoted city. Jeremiah in vain begs for mercy on behalf of Jerusalem. The two prophets weep in the Temple. They behold a vision of angels carrying fiery torches, and encircling the city. At God's command Jeremiah buries

* Translations by Lightfoot and in Ante-Nicene Library, vol. i.
Kurtz's History, Donaldson's Christian Literature, vol. i.

† Supernatural Religion, vol. i.

‡ So enumerated in Kurtz's History.

the "holy vessels" An angel blows a trumpet, and calls the Chaldeans to enter, and the people are made captive. Jeremiah joins the train of exiles after flinging the keys of the Temple towards the sun. Baruch dwells among the tombs. Abimelech, the good Æthiopian, had been dispatched on an errand just before the city fell. He fell asleep for sixty six years, and, on awaking, found some figs which he had in a basket still fresh. On entering the city he was bewildered by the changes which he beheld. After learning from an old man the history of Jerusalem's ruin, he met Baruch among the tombs. By divine command, Baruch wrote a letter to the captives and announced their approaching deliverance. An eagle carried the manuscript to Babylon, where he found Jeremiah and a concourse of Hebrews burying a dead man. The corpse revived when the eagle stood on it, and the miraculous bird carried Jeremiah's reply to Baruch. The exiles returned, but those who refused to part from their heathen wives first went back to Babylon, and then retraced the journey and settled in the district of Samaria. So far the incidents and tone are completely Jewish, but a break now occurs.

Jeremiah, while praying in the Temple fell into a three days' trance. The people thought him dead but were forbidden by the voice of God to bury him. Jeremiah arose and exhorted the people to the praise of God—"And praise Jesus the Christ and Son of God, the Light of all the Ages, the unquenchable Light, the Life of the Faith." When Christ came he would cause the barren trees to bear fruit, and red would become white, and bitter sweet. He would choose Twelve Apostles to preach to the nations, and would appear on the Mount of Olives and satisfy the hungry souls. The multitude turned angrily upon the prophet, but he calmly took a stone and said "Eternal Light, cause this stone to become a man. The stone was transformed, and the mob, taking it for Jeremiah cast stones at it with murderous intent. The stone cried "O foolish children of Israel, why do you throw at me thinking me to be Jeremiah? behold, he stands in your midst." In a few moments Jeremiah lay slain, and the people buried him, and placed over his tomb the wonderful stone with the sarcastic inscription, "Lo, this is Jeremiah's help." Here,

not without a sense of the dramatic, the writer closes the *apocalypse* *

20 The Elkesaites.—In the slow and obscure gestation which produced orthodox Christianity many sects mingled their influences, and then almost sank into oblivion. For information concerning them we depend on stray allusions and more or less garbled reports in the writings of early Christian authors. We have before spoken of the Mandæans and Sabæans, strange churches whose creeds may have drawn elements from Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic sources. They helped to prepare the train of religious thought which worked out in the religion of Mohammed.

Clearer, though not nearly so full or so exact as we could wish are the indications which we possess on the subject of the Elkesaites. They may or may not have derived their name from a certain Elxai, whom conjecture has placed in the reign of Hadrian. Their sacred "Book" (its title is unknown) they averred had fallen from heaven, or had been revealed by the Son of God. They observed the Sabbath, they circumcised, they baptized in order to wash away sin and heal disease, they also performed washings on days which the stars declared propitious. Baptism was administered in the name of the Father and the Son, and in the presence of the Seven Holy Witnesses—heaven, earth, water, the holy spirits, the spirits of prayer, oil, and salt. At the Sacred Meal only bread and salt were eaten. Flesh food was forbidden. The Elkesaites esteemed marriage. They allowed no sacrifices, detested fire, and venerated water. Paul they denounced, but cherished certain biographies of Peter, Clement, James, and the like, and maintained that these apostles were vegetarians. After Aaron, no prophet arose till Christ, and of Christ's life they possessed an account in the "Hebrew gospel of Matthew." Some said Christ came of a virgin mother, others denied. Some said Adam and Christ were one, others affirmed that he had appeared not only as Adam, but in other forms and

* Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1872 (German translation from the *Æthiopica*) J. R. Harris's "Test of the Words of Baruch" Greek text (only) and introduction.

at various periods and others saw in Jesus a man elected by God to receive the Holy Spirit at baptism. A further stroke of fancy represented Christ as a Great King, ninety six miles high twenty four miles broad. At Christ's side stood the female Holy Spirit.

The Elkesaites had kinship with the Essenes, and later on (so said Eusebius) were identified with the Sampseans. The Sampseans prayed with their faces towards the sun.*

21. The Gnostics.—So far reaching and complex a phenomenon as Gnosticism does not lend itself to orderly description. We may deal briefly with—(1) The sources (2) The leading doctrines (3) The teachers.

The sources lie mainly among the Mystæ of Asia Minor who in turn lit their lamps of speculation from the fires of Indian Persian Chaldean Egyptian and Jewish thought. Contributions to the Gnostic philosophy flowed in from the Old Testament from the secret learning of the Kabbala from the tenets of the followers of Zoroaster from Hindus and Buddhists from the priests of Mithra from the hieroglyphic wisdom of Egypt from the magic devices of Chaldaea†

How came the world into existence? How came life? how came evil? The Gnostics answered these questions in the *divine gnosis* or knowledge. They taught that the Supreme Being was ineffable unnameable an impenetrable abyss. The Ineffable One manifests in a Pleroma or Fulness of divine Powers or Æons. One of these Æons is the Demiourgos (Demurge) or maker. But he is a degenerate Æon and the material world that he fashions is totally evil. Or in another view (for in such speculations no consistency need be demanded by the historian) the Demurge presents himself as a master of darkness, a adversary an enemy of light. An Æon must descend to redeem the world and reveal to ignorant mankind the illumining Gnosis. In various modes the Gnostics found this redeeming Æon in Christ.‡

* Kurtz's History vol. 1 section 28 Harnack's History of Dogma vol. 1 chapter 1.

† These sources are pointed out in some what greater detail in vol. 1 of this History concluding section.

‡ Kurtz's History vol. 1 section 6 article in Encyclopædia Britannica.

All this is told by Hippolytus, and he twists the Helena doctrine into a piece of gossip about Simon having a harlot Helena for his companion. In misrepresenting Simon he was following the example of the Theophilist who penned the book of Acts. Hippolytus adds that Simon died in Persia, having been buried alive after assuring his disciples he would re-emerge on the third day.*

Menander was Simon's disciple, and, like his leader, a Samaritan. Only a fragment of tidings concerning him has come down to us. He taught that the world was made by angels, who sprang from the divine Ennoia, or Conception. They who were baptised in his name should never suffer old age or death. Probably he used allegorical expressions touching baptismal influence, which his opponents turned into this absurd parody†

Of *Cerinthus* little can be related. The famous anecdote of the Apostle John hastening out of a bath, lest the roof should fall while Cerinthus polluted the place, is an idle tale, but strikingly marks the state of feeling which Christians cherished towards the Gnostics. Cerinthus compounded Gnostic, Jewish, and Christian ideas. He held the belief in the under-god, or Demiurge. Insisting upon the necessity of obeying the Mosaic Law, he was so far Jewish that tradition afterwards attributed to him the composition of the Apocalypse in the New Testament. Yet he taught a Christ doctrine. According to Cerinthus, Jesus (whom he could not believe to be born of a virgin) excelled in virtue, and at baptism the Christ power descended upon him, and endued him with the gift of miracle. The mystic influence, however, departed before the crucifixion took place, and, though Jesus died and rose again, it was as man pure and simple.‡

Saturninus, a native of Antioch spread the Gnostic gospel in Syria in the early part of the second century. The scheme of Saturninus placed an Unknown Father behind and before all created things. He made angels, archangels, powers, and principalities. Seven angels who

* King's "Gnostics and their Remains," section on 'Simonianism.'

† H. L. Mansel's "Gnostics in the Second Century," lecture vi.

‡ Kurtz's "History," vol. 1, section 27, Mansel's "Gnostics."

Alexandria and became a distinguished expounder of the Gnostic faith. Of his twenty four treatises only broken passages remain. He professed to draw his doctrines from a revelation made by Jesus to Matthias and to Glaucias, a companion of Peter. Basilides said that the seed of the world sprang from the divine Nothingness or potentiality. This seed was the mighty word, pronouncing 'Let there be light,' or, as it is expressed "in the Gospels" (this is the phrase used by Hippolytus) "That is the true Light which lights every man coming into the world." [Since Hippolytus gives a description of the teaching of Basilides and his school in general, it is difficult to prove as some have sought to do that the words just quoted are taken from the Fourth Gospel.] Otherwise, the seed is called the Pan-sperma. In the seed there grow three mysterious essences or Sonships. The first flies back to the Absolute source of all, the second also, but with difficulty, and only with the aid of spiritual wings mounts up to the Divine the third must stay in the Pansperma clogged by things material until the time of purification arrives. Now appears a great Ruler, who maps out the sphere of the shining stars and, with his son at his right hand sits enthroned as the Ogdoas. His name, ABRAXAS, signifies the grand march of the days in the solar year, for in numerals Abraxas is made up of $\alpha=1$, $\beta=2$, $\rho=100$, $\alpha=1$, $\xi=60$, $\alpha=1$, $\varsigma=200$ total 365. Abraxas therefore would seem to stand for the sun god and the name being probably constructed from the Hebrew 'Ha Brachach' may signify the Blessing or Blessed One. On gems of onyx, jasper chalcedony and on tablets of lead and bronze, the sacred name was engraved with appropriate emblems of the Cock, Lion, Serpent, Warrior etc. Other titles of the Supreme Lord were Iao, Adonai and Sabaoth. The name Iao of course, carries us back to the Yahveh of the Jews. The Gnostics wore the gems as amulets and as symbols of their piety and attached them to corpses in the hope that they would secure the safety of departed souls. But how much of this talismanic system Basilides himself believed in we have no evidence to show. Next to the sphere of the Sun god Basilides placed a second Ruler who reigns over the Hebdomas, or region of the seven planets including the earth. This ruler was the God who revealed himself to Abraham and Moses.

with Peter, James, and John, his sarcastic allusions to these estimable "pillars," his refusal to fall in with their cringing obeisance towards the Mosaic Law. We turn to the Fourth Gospel, and find a representation of Jesus which conspicuously avoids any recommendation to observe circumcision or festivals, and which makes Jesus say to the Jews "It is written in *your law*"—as if he regarded it as out of his own sphere. Again, the apostles are described in the book of Acts as unlearned and ignorant, and this testimony gains support from the information gleaned from the Synoptic gospels. But the Fourth Gospel shows us comparatively good Greek (though somewhat Hebraic in sentence-construction) and a familiarity with Alexandrian philosophy and speculation which a Galilean fisherman would be very unlikely to possess.

What witness do we discover as to the early existence of the document? After about 170 it was looked upon as the production of the Apostle. Irenæus (Bishop of Lyons, about 180-190) speaks of it as such, and according to Eusebius, the Church historian Irenæus once wrote "I can still tell the place where the blessed Polycarp used to sit and talk, his going-out and coming in, and his manner of life, the look of him and his addresses which he gave to the people, and how he narrated his intercourse with John and the others who had seen the Lord, and what he thought of their words," etc. From this reminiscence we cannot extract proof that the Apostle John wrote the Fourth Gospel. We have no record that Papias made any reference to the gospel of "John." Justin Martyr may or may not have seen the gospel, the citations he is alleged to have made from it are by no means indisputable. He scarcely touches on any historical feature which is found only in "John." And when he says of Jesus "Brief and concise were the sentences uttered by him for he was no Sophist" we dubiously call to mind the long discourses in the Fourth Gospel. Justin's disciple Tatian, wrote the Diatessaron, which combined the four gospels "Matthew" "Mark," "Luke" and "John;" and it opened with the Fourth gospel declaration, "In the beginning was the word." We are left to conjecture why Tatian selected these four gospels—whether from personal approval or because these biographies were popular. Then we come back to Basilides. A passage

in Hippolytus ("Refutation of all Heresies," vii 10), already referred to, runs thus — "This, he [Basilides] says, is that which has been stated in the gospels. He was the true light which lights every man that comes into the world." Certainly the passage instantly reminds us of the Fourth Gospel. Unfortunately we cannot turn to the original writings of Basilides to ascertain the exact source he drew from.

We must content ourselves with the provisional hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel may have appeared towards the close of Hadrian's reign (Hadrian died 138) *.

We turn to the gospel itself. One pregnant part immediately meets us. The writer has naught to say of visions of angels, of a Virgin birth of Shepherds or Magi, of the circumcision and presentation in the temple, of a flight into Egypt, of boyish conversations with professors. Jesus as God flashing with a divine aureole, descends upon the humble earth — "In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him there was not anything made that has been made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shines in darkness, and the darkness apprehended it not. So far from the doctrine of the Logos (Word) having been directly suggested by the life of Jesus, it had been mooted by Philo in the earlier half of the first Christian century. To him the Logos was the fruit of the first creative act of God, eternal, supreme over all things in the world, God's first begotten son, the image of God, the instrument by which the universe was formed, the heavenly bread of the soul, the fount of wisdom to drink of which secures endless life, man's guide to God, the great High priest, an ambassador, a mediator, a suppliant on man's behalf, God's royal power, an angel, the eldest angel, the Archangel bearing many names, the light, the East †. The

Fourth Gospel takes a step further by affirming that the Logos was made flesh

In this document Jesus does not grow in wisdom and stature. He appears complete, developed, openly divine from the first moment. John does not baptise him, he simply looks on with awe while the celestial dove flutters down upon the Christ's head. From the outset he is the Lamb of God who removes the sin of the world, and, from the outset, disciples acclaim him as the Son of God. He penetrates Nathaniel's inner thoughts. His new teaching infinitely superior to the water of the old Hebrew illustrations, is typified by the wine of Cana. Straightway he advances to Jerusalem, and flings the exchange-tables from the courts of the Temple. Proudly he points to his own body as the Temple which shall be raised up after a ruin of three days. When Nicodemus comes to him by night, we hear no counsel to sell goods and give to the poor, the discourse turns on salvation by new birth by loyal belief in the Son, by rejection of the dark world and acceptance of the heavenly light. Before this light John the Baptist diminishes and fades. All things are given into the Son's hands. Calmly and unhesitatingly he tells the Samaritan woman at the well that he, who has described to her the true spiritual worship is the Messiah of God. The Samaritans entitle him the Saviour of the world. In Galilee he heals a fever-stricken youth, and immediately retraces his way to Jerusalem to restore the invalid who had long and vainly waited for healing in the trembling pool of Bethesda. [The passage about the angel troubling the water is interpolated.] The Jews gather angrily about the Sabbath breaker. He addresses them, they listen without interruption while he pictures himself as the Judge, the raiser of the dead, the Messiah of whom Moses prophetically wrote. Turning again to Galilee, he feeds the multitude and when he withdraws to the mountain it is not to pray, but to meditate in royal solitude. He walks on the sea, of the story of his sleeping in the boat not a syllable is said. He spiritualises the bread of his recent miracle. He himself is the vital bread, his blood energises the believer. At this hard saying disciples fall away. The Jews are plotting against his life. Jesus finds that natural, for the world must needs hate him. All through the gospel this dualism runs—light and

darkness, God and the World prince, Messiah and the malignant Jews. He again visits Jerusalem, his arrest is fruitlessly attempted, while he triumphantly proclaims himself as the living water [the legend of the woman taken in adultery is an insertion, it may have been borrowed from the Gospel of the Hebrews, see p 123] and the light of the world, the predecessor of Abraham. He symbolises his illuminative grace by opening the eyes of the blind. The disputation grows deeper, the Jews, muttering innuendoes of devilry, cower darkly round while Jesus gleams in the foreground as the Good Shepherd. He retires to the quiet region of the Jordan, whence the pleading of Mary and Martha draws him to the tombs, where, amid an awe-struck crowd, he calls aloud and beckons pale Lazarus from the shadow of death. That is the climax, his Christhood is assured. Mary pours ointment over his feet, the rest of the salve, he says will serve for his burial. He rides into Jerusalem. A voice from heaven greets him. [A break, not easily understood, occurs at xii 37-43, in the middle of a speech in which Jesus again declares himself to be the light of the world.] "Before the feast of the Passover" Jesus sits at supper, rises and washes his disciples feet in order to furnish an emblem of humility, and sits down again to warn them of the treason of Judas. Judas leaves the chamber.

[*The Paschal discrepancy* —The Synoptics represent Jesus as eating the Passover supper with his disciples on the evening before his death, and at this supper he tells how one shall betray him. But the Fourth Gospel states that Jesus "before the feast of the Passover, sups with his friends and points to a coming traitor, and, when Judas leaves the room, some suppose he has gone to purchase provisions for the as yet uncelebrated Paschal (Passover) feast. Next day, when Jesus is on his trial, the Jews decline to enter Pilate's palace lest they may be polluted, and so debarred from eating the approaching Passover. The Jews kept the Passover on the 14th day of the month Nisan—i.e., on that day they killed and ate the paschal lamb, and so the Synoptics say, Jesus died the next day after. But the Fourth Gospel makes the crucifixion take place before the Passover celebration. We

shall encounter this subject again when we reach the Paschal controversies of the year 162 and onwards]

Jesus now delivers his farewell. The disciples must not give way to depression, the Comforter the Holy Spirit, shall suffuse their souls and abide in them and breathe peace, and they must love one another. He himself will go away, and yet only in appearance will he leave them. A sublime oneness knits all the family of light, they are united in a divine harmony—like branches joined to the vine, as friend to friend. The Father, the Son, the disciple, the disciple, the Son, the Father—these three are one in the Spirit, one even though persecutors rage, and sorrows multiply and the world and its prince may frown. And now that the union is accomplished Jesus turns to the Father to announce the crowning of the work. "The glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them that they may be one even as we are one, I in them, and thou in me that they may be perfected into one. Father, I desire that, where I am they also may be with me. O righteous Father, the world knew thee not, but I knew thee, and these knew that thou didst send me and I made known unto them thy name and will make it known, that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I in them."

This in reality completes the gospel. The rest is detail—the betrayal the trial the crown of thorns the blood of the cross, the cry 'It is finished.' [Jesus here utters no despairing sob of 'My God why hast thou forsaken me?'] the piercing of the side the embalming, the resurrection the removal of Thomas's doubts. Nothing is said of the ascension. To Thomas the repentant doubter Jesus says his last word and the unknown author adds. Many other signs, therefore did Jesus in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that, believing ye may have life in his name. Some strange hand has evidently attached a supplementary chapter containing the incident of the Seven Fishers at the Sea of Galilee (xxi), it resumes the story after it has been formally closed it gives Peter a suspicious prominence, it mentions the sons of Zebedee who are not before named, and its Greek varies from that of the preceding gospel.

While the general impression conveyed by the Synoptics is that Jesus spent most of his ministry in Galilee, and, at the end of a year, entered Jerusalem and was slain the Fourth Gospel portrays him as passing backwards and forwards between Jerusalem and Galilee, and spending two or three years in his public propaganda. Many lively features of the Synoptics are absent from the Fourth Gospel—the crowds that tread upon each other's heels, the woman who blesses Mary's breasts, the harlot who kisses the Master's feet, the poor imbeciles from whom he drives the demons, the blind men who call after him, the prattling children that nestle in his arms, the buzzing mob of Nazarenes that threaten to hurl him from the cliff, the picturesque parables of the dough bread and the spendthrift and the reapers and the argumentative Sadducees. A new solemnity surrounds the person of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, the human elements are reduced to a minimum, his speeches are impressive meditations on divine philosophy, circling round his own individuality and exalting his own dignity. Such differences as these cannot be reconciled. The Jesus of the Fourth Gospel is a fresh creation, a reconstruction, a refinement—a mark of dissatisfaction with the cruder and more materialistic Jesus of the first generations of Christians.

In much smaller matters critics have accused the Fourth Gospel of inconsistency with the Synoptics. It is said that the writer has invented geographical details—a Bethany beyond Jordan, a Sychar in Samaria, the waters of Amon. These are of no moment, though somewhat more important would seem to be the error which makes Caiaphas "High priest for this year," as if the High priesthood changed annually.

The author of this remarkable transfiguration of the biography of Jesus perhaps wrote in Asia Minor. Was he the Theologian who wrote the Epistle to the Little Children (p. 156)? The epistle speaks of Antichrist, it does not refer to the Paraclete (Comforter) as distinct from Christ, but these details do not sufficiently establish a diversity of authorship. There is a kindred mysticism in the Epistle and the Gospel which would lead us to suspect a common source.

Irenæus speaks of certain Christians who would not accept the Fourth Gospel, and Epiphanius called them

rejectors 'Alogoi'—i.e., A Logoi, or people who dissented from the Logos doctrine *

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23 The "Shepherd" of Hermas—Perhaps composed in the time of Hadrian, or perhaps (if written by Hermas* brother of Bishop Pius of Rome) dating 140-155, the Shepherd has come down to us as a peculiarly isolated production of the early Christian period. It quotes nothing from the Old Testament, and though absorbed with the subjects of the Holy Church, the Holy Spirit, and the Son of God, never alludes to either "Jesus" or "Christ." We possess the "Shepherd" in Greek, Latin, and Æthiopic. In Greek the book is named 'Primen.' Its style is graphic, imaginative, allegorical. The author who was the John Bunyan of his age may have only called himself Hermas as a literary device. The work attained popularity, but subsequently fell under suspicion of heresy.

The allegory opens with a glimpse of a love story. Hermas, though now the father of a family had never for gotten the sweet face of a Roman girl Rhoda. One day he walked by the river, and knelt in a lonely spot to pray, and as he prayed he saw the face of Rhoda look out upon him from the sky. She gently reproached him for once entertaining a lustful thought towards her and then vanished. As he sadly reflected on her words he saw an aged lady seated in a snow white chair. She bade him be of good cheer, and bethink him of his duty especially of his responsibility towards his sons, who led worldly and immoral lives. She read to him comforting promises for the Righteous and threatenings for the rebellious and the "Heathen (Gentiles)." This is the first Vision. The second Vision again shows the lady who again bids him reprove his family while he himself must patiently continue in the way of righteousness. And she quotes an unknown work "The Lord is nigh unto them that turn unto him as it is written in Eldad and Modat who prophesied to the people in the wilderness." A handsome youth then comes forward to acquaint Hermas that the aged lady is the Church. In the third Vision he descries by the water side a square tower being built by many masons under the

* Davidson's "Introduction," E. Schurer's article already cited

guidance of six young men. These six young men are really angels, and the tower is the Church, and the stones are the Saints the foundation blocks being "apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons." Faithless disciples *and backsliders are represented by cracked and defective stones which roll into a waste place. Some of these, when "they have undergone torments, and have fulfilled the days of their sins," will be assigned to a humbler tower. Seven women stand about the tower, and they signify Faith, Continence, Simplicity, Knowledge, Guilelessness, Reverence, and Love. During these three Visions the aged lady has assumed a fair and gladsome look, and this change mirrors the spirit of Hermas, who, has risen from dejection to cheerfulness. The fourth Vision introduces a terrific beast, on whose head flicker mysterious lights—black, red, golden, and white. The Church, now a white clad maid, "arrayed as if she were going forth from a bride chamber," explains that the Black means the world, the Red, ruin, the Golden, the hope of salvation, the White, the purified Saints.

After this 'there entered a man glorious in his visage, in the garb of a *Shepherd* with a white skin wrapped about him, and with a wallet on his shoulders and a staff in his hand.' This angelic Shepherd delivers to Hermas Twelve Commandments (Mandates) dealing with (1) Belief in one God (2) Simplicity and avoidance of slander (3) Love of truth "Abstain from falsehood that most pernicious habit" (4) Sexual purity. Widows and widowers may re-marry, divorced persons may not. (5) Long suffering temper. The gladsome, exultant, gentle spirit cannot dwell in a disciples breast along with wrath and spite. (6) The Two Ways, and the Two Angels, of righteousness and wickedness [as in the *Teaching of the Apostles*'] (7) Fear of the Lord. 'If thou fear the Lord thou shalt be master over the Devil' (8) Abstinence from adultery drunkenness "from many vices and the costliness of riches," pride, hypocrisy, blasphemy and diligence in ministering to widows and orphans in 'ransoming the servants of God from their afflictions,' hospitality, reverence to the aged, encouragement of struggling souls. (9) Faith. 'Faith accomplishes all things, but doubtful mindedness fails in all its works' (10) A cheery and courageous spirit.

"Every cheerful man works good, and thinks good, and despises sadness, but the sad man is always committing sin." "The intercession of a sad man has never at any time power to ascend to the altar of God" (11) The true prophet—modest, filled with the Holy Spirit, and the false prophet—mercenary, cringing to his patrons (12) Avoidance of all evil desire, and compliance with good desire "Every one who shall serve the good desire shall live unto God"

Hermas expresses his sense of the beauty of these commandments but timidly objects that the devil is a hard adversary to cope with. The Shepherd assures him of the power which God imparts to the loyal Saints, and then relates Ten Similitudes or Parables—(1) The Pilgrims God's servants dwell in this world as merely lodgers for a time, and their hearts must not hanker after houses and wealth, but let them rather prepare for their long journey by goodness to the widow and the orphan (2) The Vine and the Elm The fruit bearing vine symbolised the rich, the unfruitful elm, the poor. Relieving the poor, the rich man is benefitted by the pauper's grateful prayers (3) The Leafless Trees Good and evil men live together indistinguishable. To the untaught eye they appear alike (4) The Sprouting and the Withered Trees, prophetic of the age when the works of the just and the barrenness of the wicked will be made manifest (5) The Vines, which a faithful servant tended and freed from weeds, on receiving delicacies as a reward, he distributed them among his fellow servants, thus indicating the Son of God who watched over the spiritual cultivation of the Saints, and shared his wealth of divine knowledge with his friends. This parable speaks of the "Holy pre-existent Spirit, which created the whole creation, and which God made to dwell in flesh that he desired" This flesh (the Son) pleased the Lord, and was chosen "as a partner with the Holy Spirit." (6) The Two Shepherds, one, 'clothed in a light cloak of saffron colour,' jovial and sprightly, tends a flock of sheep in the wanton meads of pleasure, the other, 'a wild man in appearance, with a white goatskin thrown about him,' comes with a sour visage to lead away many of the sinful sheep to a gloomy region of thorns and briars, while the rest are subjected to a sharp but wholesome and saving discipline (7) The Shepherd of Bitter Discipline has afflicted the family of

Hermas, but, in answer to his supplication he is told that the tribulation cannot at once be withdrawn (8) *The Willow tree* A multitude stand under the willow, while the angel Michael lops off twigs and branches for them to gather up These rods are examined after a time, and those who possess living and fruitful branches are crowned, and those whose rods are withered give them to the angel to be planted in the hope of renewed sap and vigour The willow is the Law of God the precepts of which are more or less successful in influencing the hearts of the people (9) From an Arcadian mountain Hermas gazes down upon a plain which is surrounded by twelve hills (the twelve nations of the world) In the middle of the plain rises a square rock, entered by a glittering gate (the Son of God) — the gate seemed to me to have been hewed out quite recently Around the gate twelve virgins act as sentinels — Faith, Continence, Lower, Longsuffering, Simplicity, Guilelessness Purity Cheerfulness, Truth Understanding Concord Love On the rock a tower (the Church) is built out of stones, selected by the Lord of the Tower from the mountains round about Twelve black and sinister virgins carry away the rejected stones (10) *The Virgins in the House* Hermas is charged to keep the twelve graces — the virgins of Faith Love, etc — as inhabitants of his house to purify and gladden it The closing words exhort to neighbourly sympathy and good works Unless, then ye hasten to do right, the tower will be completed and ye shut out. *

21. *Epictetus*.—Under the early Empire wealthy citizens, half in earnest half in whim encouraged their slaves to study poetry rhetoric and philosophy Thus it came to pass that Epaphroditus a personal attendant on Nero, possessed a lame slave, who though born of poor Phrygian parents, perfected himself in the principles of the Stoics, and left a lasting reputation The lame slave was Epictetus. His disciple Arrian made careful notes of the philosopher's table-talk and speeches and he has preserved them for us in the *Discourses* and *Encheiridion* Epictetus probably died about the close of the first century

* Translation in Lightfoot's "Apostolic Fathers" Donaldson's "History of Christian Literature and Doctrine"

For abstract speculation Epictetus had no taste. He made all roads of human learning lead to one point, and that point was Ethics, the Rule of Life. "What do I care," he said, "whether all things are composed of atoms or of similar parts, or of fire and earth? For is it not enough to know the nature of the good and the evil, and the measures of the desires and aversions, and also the movements towards things and from them, and to use these as rules to administer the affairs of life, but not to trouble ourselves about the things above us? For these things are perhaps incomprehensible to the human mind." But he did not so far adopt Agnosticism as to exclude belief in a God—and Gods. He tells his listeners [for his style always calls up the picture of the lame sage encircled by a group of disciples] how they ought to feel gratitude for the natural provision so freely supplied. "One little boy with only a stick drives the cattle," and "milk is produced from grass, and cheese from milk, and wool from skins. Who made these things or devised them? No one, you say? O amazing shamelessness and stupidity!" And he proceeds to various simple instances of harmony and fitness—the distinction of the sexes, the cock's comb, the lion's mane, the husbandman's tools. If his friends will not sing, then he will raise a chant himself. "For what else can I do, a lame old man, than sing hymns to God? If, then, I was a nightingale, I would do the part of a nightingale—but now I am a rational man, and I ought to praise God—and I exhort you to join in this same song." With gratitude go faith and trust. The thoughtful man who has observed the divine government of the universe—"why should not such a man call himself a citizen of the world? why not a son of God? and why should he be afraid of anything which happens among men?" When some of his poor friends murmur to him about their sorrows and the wrongs they suffer at the hands of unjust men, and when they sullenly hint at suicide, the old man reproves their impatience. He reminds them of Socrates, who told the judges he dared not desert a post to which God had assigned him. And so, says Epictetus, "I on my part would say, Friends, wait for God. When he shall give the signal and release you from this service, then go to him, but for the present endure to dwell in this place where he has put you." And what then? One of the

audience asks, "Shall I then no longer exist?" Epictetus replies vaguely "You will not exist, but you will be something else, of which the world has need, for you also came into existence not when you chose, but when the world had need of you." Meanwhile, man lives in a realm of Appearances, Phenomena, "*phantasiai*." So do the brutes, but they lack the imperial faculty which man possesses—the power to select Good from Bad—the splendid gift of a free Will. External matters are but accidents and empirical trifles. The absolute good lies in the wise man's breast, in his disciplined Will. The Will is the creator of good, and man may safely ignore all circumstances and events that are independent of the Will. "What have you seen? A handsome man or woman? Apply the rule—is this independent of the Will, or dependent? Independent. Take it away. What have you seen? A man lamenting over the death of a child? Apply the rule, death is a thing independent of the will, take it away. Has the proconsul met you? Apply the rule. What kind of thing is a proconsul's office? Independent of the will or dependent on it? Independent. Take this away also, it does not stand examination, cast it away, it is nothing to you." Even a wise man's heart may palpitate, and his cheek grow pale, at the onset of calamity, but he has trained his Will to fortitude, to habitual courage. If not strong by natural disposition, it may be elevated and strengthened by the words and examples of the wise, as in the case of young Polemon, who bursting into the lecture room of Xenocrates, was arrested by the grave admonitions of the teacher, and henceforward changed the manner of his life. Moved by this inner monitor and calm in this divine peace of Will, the Cynic (for so Epictetus calls the moral man) faces life and death. He follows no impulse provides for no passions. While other men pursue after a girl a reputation, a cake, while they shut themselves into chambers with a slave posted at the door to prevent interruption of their joy, the Cynic lives under the open sky. Though he has nowhere to lay his head, yet, wherever he goes, "there is the sun there is the moon, there are the stars, dreams, omens, and communion with Gods." "Look at me" exclaims the Cynic to the wearied and care-tossed world "who am without a city, without a house, without possessions without a slave, I,

sleep on the ground, I have no wife, no children, no prætorium, but only the earth and the heavens, and one poor cloak. And what do I want? Am I not without sorrow? Am I not without fear? Am I not free?" He will avoid the politics of the material state, and devote himself to the spiritual politics to ethical exhortation. Men cannot truly insult and revile him, for he holds his soul apart and contemptuously cannot move it. He will not marry, or, if he did, his wife and family ought to follow the same lofty rules of life as himself. He regards the whole world as his home. "The Cynic is the father of all men, the men are his sons, the women are his daughters, he so carefully visits all, so well does he care for all. Do you think that it is from idle impertinence that he rebukes those whom he meets? He does it as a father, as a brother, and as the minister of the Father of All the minister of Zeus. To the man who forgets his high dignity Epictetus makes a noble appeal. In each man there is a divine spark. 'You are a superior thing. You are a portion separated from the deity. Why, then, are you ignorant of your own noble descent? In eating drinking in all the acts of life it behoves us not to lose sight of our essential greatness. Wretch cries Epictetus to the slave of lust, "you are carrying about a God with you, and you know it not. Do you think that I mean some god of silver or of gold, and external? You carry him within yourself, and you perceive not that you are polluting him by impure thoughts and foul deeds. We readily think of the parallel in Paul's address to the Corinthian Saints. 'Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you which ye have from God? and ye are not your own for ye were bought with a price, glorify God therefore in your body.'

Yet, so singularly detached were the Christian and Stoical methods at this period that Epictetus knew no more of Paul than Paul knew of Seneca. Both Paul and Epictetus placed the riches of the soul above the things of carnal life, both preached the possibility of moral freedom, both discovered the secret of inward peace, yet each would have rejected the theology of the other*.

* G. Long's translation of the 'Discourses of Epictetus with the Encheiridion and Fragments with notes and Introduction.

wine, and small fishes (sardæ) in the bill of fare. And, since the Jews swarmed in Rome, we need not feel surprised that several Jewish cemeteries should have been brought to light. On the walls of the sepulchral chambers of the Jewish catacombs one sees paintings of palm branches, doves and the national emblem of the seven branched candlestick.

The numerous drawings, paintings, and carvings on the walls of the crypts or on the sides of sarcophagi have aroused very natural curiosity. Authors and artists have hastened to give the world full descriptions of these sepulchral pictures. Unfortunately, the researches have been conducted on the principle that all the designs must be pronounced Christian unless the evidence of pagan art is overwhelming. Undoubtedly Christians used the catacombs for burial, for meeting places, and as fitting spots for the pictorial records of their religious faith, but the date at which their occupation began lies in obscurity, and the frescoes of the catacombs need a rational scrutiny before the question can be decided.

Classic sculptors often executed statues of Hermes Kriophoros (Hermes the ram bearer) and the representations in the Catacombs of a shepherd bearing a sheep on his shoulders, though certainly pagan, are popularly regarded as pictures of the Good Shepherd. The Chrism (see p. 107) frequently occurs and is illegitimately claimed as a Christian symbol. In ornamental borders descriptive of peasants reaping, gathering and pressing grapes or olives, and the like, some uncritical eyes view the four seasons controlled by the providence of Christ. The melodious Orpheus, playing his five-stringed harp amid sheep and horses and wild beasts is manifestly pagan, and yet it is not unseldom looked upon as an early Christian type of Christ. Other classical designs embrace Psyche the girl butterfly, Venus, and the death and ascension of the lady Vibia. The latter subject comprises four paintings showing the soul of Vibia carried off by Pluto in his chariot, the funeral supper of seven priests in memory of the departed lady, the shade of Vibia standing before the judgment-seat of Dis and Abracura (Proserpine), and the entry of Vibia through a gate into the Elysium where a celestial banquet awaits. Pictures of club suppers, in which fish and baskets of cakes appear, are distorted by unreflecting writers into

25 The Catacombs—Beyond the walls of Rome some forty or fifty underground cemeteries have been excavated in the soft soil, which is chiefly composed of tufa. Their narrow galleries vary from two to four feet in width, and do not often exceed ten feet in height. The walls are honey-combed with oblong niches, in which dead bodies were deposited. Sometimes the skeletons crumble at the explorer's touch, sometimes they retain their hardness. At intervals shafts admitted a dim light and provided ventilation. The graves number hundreds of thousands. If formed in a continuous line, the gloomy corridors would extend more than 350 miles. The Catacombs lay in oblivion from the sixth to the seventeenth century.

The ancient Umbrians burned their dead. The Etruscans more often buried the bodies than cremated them, and they constructed elaborate subterranean tombs. For a long time the Romans preferred disposal by interment, the sepulchres of the rich adorned the roadsides, the poor and the slaves rested in crowded cemeteries. After the close of the Republic, cremation came into general vogue, and urns, containing the ashes of the dead, were placed in the pigeon holes of buildings known as 'columbaria'. Everywhere there sprang up, even before the Christian era, associations or 'collegia' which served the purpose of Burial-clubs. By easy payments the members purchased the right of interment in the club burial ground or the preservation of ashes in the club columbarium. The society would usually adopt the worship of a patron god or goddess—Jupiter, Hercules, Apollo, Diana, Isis, etc. Sometimes the clubs were used to cover political intrigues or mere debauchery, and such abuses provoked the jealousy of the Roman Government, and led to occasional interference or temporary suppression. In the second Christian century, however, the working folk of the Empire maintained an extraordinary number of these insurance colleges. In the year 133 a club was formed near Rome, and the code of rules adopted by the general meeting was inscribed on stone.* The inscription was discovered in 1816. Diana and Antinous presided over this association of humble people. Their subscriptions were punctually demanded, arrears being punished by fines. Deputations attended the funeral of a deceased colleague. The club-suppers included bread,

wine, and small fishes (*sardæ*) in the bill of fare. And, since the Jews swarmed in Rome, we need not feel surprised that several Jewish cemeteries should have been brought to light. On the walls of the sepulchral chambers of the Jewish catacombs one sees paintings of palm branches, doves and the national emblem of the seven branched candlestick.

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records of the Eucharist of Christ and his apostles! The figure of a man striking a rock whence water gushes is usually, but without good reason, accepted as a portrayal of Moses.*

25. From the accession of Antoninus Pius 133 C.E., to the end of the second century

1. Rome

For three-and-twenty years Antoninus reigned and never left Rome and its vicinity. On his accession he gave up his private wealth to the service of the State. Frugal in imperial finance, liberal in the construction of public monuments, tolerant towards the Christians, temperate in habit, diligent in the performance of daily duty, he deserved and earned the title of Pius. The echoes of war sometimes rumbled on the horizon of the Empire, and the wall of Antoninus thrown up from the Clyde to the Forth repressed the rage of the northern barbarians. But on the whole peace brooded over the provinces of Rome and when (if we may trust a well-known tradition) the dying emperor gave to the tribune of the guard the watchword "Equanimity" it spoke alike for the character of the prince and the condition of the people. In the year 161 Marcus Aurelius the adopted son and colleague of Antoninus succeeded to the throne, in association with Verus. They were unequally yoked, but the philosophic Aurelius kept on amicable terms with the frivolous Verus. The clash of rebellious arms resounded in the East. Verus lazily watched the campaign of which he was the nominal conductor and, when Parthia yielded and the palace of Ctesiphon lay in ashes, enjoyed the parade of a Roman Triumph (166). The legions which returned from the East brought the germs of a plague which wasted all Italy. Piled up corpses were conveyed in waggons. The panic-stricken people believed that the fiery end of the world was at hand. Along the Danube the tribes revolted. Scarcely had the two emperors crossed the Alps when Verus died. When after a period

* Stanley's *Christian Institutions*, chapter xiii. Northcote and Browlow's *Poma Soteranea*. Palmer's *Early Christian Symbolism*. W. H. W. Thew's *Catacombs of Rome*. Farrar's *Christian Art*.

of drought (so a well known story runs) a violent tempest disordered the barbarians and gave the Roman camp a much needed supply of water and enabled them to make a victorious onslaught (174) this Miracle of the Thundering Legion was ascribed by some to the kindness of Jupiter Pluvius, by others to the God who heard the prayers of Christian soldiers while a third conjecture pointed to the incantations of an Egyptian sorcerer. But as against tradition it is asserted that the Thundering Legion had borne the title for many years previously. Aurelius mourned the death of two children and of a wife whom the talk of the street declared unfaithful. Treason in Syria brought Aurelius to Antioch whence he journeyed to Alexandria. In that famous city he attended the lecture rooms of the philosophers. Around Vindobona (Vienna) the Sarmatians rose. Thither Aurelius hastened but, exhausted by the hardships of war died in the camp on March 17th 180. The noble Antonine column records his achievements.

At this period two powers waned in a brilliant sunset. Imperial Rome tended to decline. The splendid Stoicism which Aurelius represented faded before the rising of the Christian Church.

In camp and palace Marcus Aurelius indited the *Meditations* in which he expresses the movements the convictions and the aspirations of his inmost soul. The book opens with a note of gratitude. From my grandfather I learned good morals and the government of my temper from the reputation and remembrance of my father modesty and a manly character from my mother piety and beneficence and abstinence, not only from evil deeds but even from evil thoughts and further simplicity in my way of living far removed from the habits of the rich. And as his mode of life differed from the luxury of the Roman aristocracy so his manner of speculating on things divine and human differed from the noisy dogmatism of the plebeian petst. Even in the face of death the attitudes make a contrast. The Stoic meets death with stately resignation the Christian with a flourish — What a soul that is says Aurelius, which is ready if at any moment it must be separated from the body and ready either to be extinguished or dispersed or continue to exist but so that this readiness comes from a man's judgment not from mere

obstinacy as with the Christians, but considerately and with dignity, and in a way to persuade another without tragic show. Though the emperor utters the same doctrines as Epictetus his style has nothing of the familiar tone and popular illustration which mark the discourses of the lame Stoic from Phrygia. The mind of Epictetus moves in the market place, the thoughts of Aurelius soar to the mountains. He is sad at times, but his magnificent sadness leads to serene conclusions. "Of human life, he writes, "the time is a point, and the substance is in a flux and the perception dull and the composition of the whole body subject to putrefaction, and the soul a whirl and fortune hard to divine and fame a thing devoid of judgment. And, to say all in a word everything which belongs to the body is a stream and what belongs to the soul is a dream and vapour, and life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and after fame is oblivion. What, then, is that which is able to conduct a man? One thing and only one—philosophy. But this consists in keeping the spirit within a man free from violence and unharmed superior to pains and pleasures doing nothing without a purpose, nor yet falsely and with hypocrisy, not feeling the need of another man's doing or not doing anything and besides, accepting all that happens and all that is allotted, as coming from thence wherever it is from whence he himself came. This whence is divine. Yet, though Marcus Aurelius conceives of God as the soul of which the universe is the vesture he does not care to dwell on the attributes or purposes of the deity. He reverently avoids precise theology. But God is in man and influences him through the conscience the governing intelligence, the inner spiritual master. Through all the impressive changes of nature and life over apparent evil and horror in all growth and change and decay the divine providence reigns. In this faith then let man follow God and conform with reason with the universal nature. The evils which overshadow our path are not essential; they are accidental, transitory they do not harm the true philosophic soul. To the emperor's view mankind form one family. "We are made for co-operation. To serve humanity carries with it an intrinsic worthiness. Have I done something for the general interest? Well then I have had my reward. The wise will pursue justice and serenely."

encounter all the fates "As to what any man shall say or think about him or do against him, he never even thinks of it, being himself contented with these two things, with acting justly in what he now does, and being satisfied with what is now assigned to him. Insult and injury will be met with magnanimity. "It is peculiar to man to love even those who do wrong." Whatever the outer glooms, a man may always retire to the quiet territory, the holy place of his own soul. Thence he looks out upon the fleeting world as from an inviolable fastness. He calmly seeks for the truth by which no man was ever injured. "Whatever anyone does or says, I must be good, just as if the gold or the emerald, or the purple were always saying, Whatever anyone does or says, I must be emerald and keep my colour." Of the immortality of the soul Aurelius says no word. Acceptance of such a doctrine would in no way have altered his message. Still his gospel would have admonished men to obey the moral law and keep peace in the heart.

From the emperor we turn to Rome and pause to take a glance over the proud empire, which was destined to give place to Christianity and to modern Europe—its marvellous stretch from Germany to Numidia from Britain to Arabia Petraea, its various religions, over which with few exceptions, the rulers spread the shelter of their toleration, its disciplined legions and invincible camps, its mingled populations speaking the Greek and Latin tongues, its multitudes of slaves, who were treated on the whole, with mildness, but whose ignorance and want of public spirit constituted a danger to the State. its massive monuments, its theatres, roads and aqueducts. its streams of commerce and laden navies. its glittering cities and crowded ports, its industrious culture of corn the vine, olive and flax, its symptoms of dissolution in the lowering of the standard of citizenship, the submission of the spirit of liberty to the cold rules of a traditional jurisprudence. the subjection of the Senate to the emperor the dependence of candidates for the throne upon the will of the army, and the evolution of a religion which despised the learning and politics of

the world and looked for a divine Millennium and a heavenly kingdom

A few lines will suffice to cover the twenty years that followed the death of Marcus Aurelius. Commodus his weak and corrupt son, retired from the Sarmatian war. An attempted assassination fired him with morbid suspicion. Aided by spies and the counsels of self-seeking ministers, he shed the blood of the noble Quintilian brothers and many other senators. From murder he sought relaxation in the slaying of wild beasts in the arena. At length he was drugged by a concubine and strangled, and the streets of Rome rang with the shouts of jubilant multitudes. Three months afterwards the citizens mournfully beheld the Prætorian guards carry on a lance the head of Pertinax, who had, in that brief period, restored discipline and hope to Rome. The Prætorian guards sold the imperial authority to Julian, the people murmured, rivals sprang up and a few years of confusion, suspense, and civil war ended with the secure enthronement of Severus. He gave peace to the Empire, and distributed much corn among the populace. But he treated the Senate with contempt, and with a soldier's zeal, increased the powers and privileges of the army, and, by recruiting the Prætorian guards from the strong barbarians of the frontier lands provided himself with a bulwark against the will of nobles or plebeians. Severus was still reigning when the third century opened.*

2 *The Jews*

Jerusalem rebuilt and adorned with the statues of classical and Phœnician gods, now bore the name of *Ælia Capitolina*. The Hebrew assemblies dropped their prayers to a whisper when Romans passed. Martyrdom awaited the braver souls who fastened the Mesusa to door posts, or ate unleavened bread at Passover and traditions survive which tell of torture by red-hot balls and by flaying alive. Antoninus Pius gave joy to all the Jewish race by permitting the resumption of circumcision. The codes of the holy law were re-formulated by the synod of Usha. The flame of piety was fanned by teachers like Simon the patriarch, who said the world subsisted on three conditions, Truth, Justice, and

* *Verriales*. *Romans under the Empire* vol. vii. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* first five chapters.

Peace—and Meir the scribe Of Meir a familiar and touching story is told His two sons died suddenly on the Sabbath, and the mother, before telling him of their death, asked if it was not just that things lent should be returned to the lender He answered yes, and she showed him the bodies of the children, whom God had lent to him and to her for a few short years Judah, son of Simon, succeeded to the patriarchate Rich and liberal, he held a supreme place in the esteem of his contemporaries The decisions which he gave from his college-chair at Sepphoris commanded widespread respect among the Hebrew communities He helped to appease the bitter feeling which still fermented in Jewish breasts towards the Samaritans The Samaritans had jeered at the devotees who, in the days of Marcus Aurelius, went to pray at the Holy City, they said it was better to pray on Genzim than on the ruins of Jerusalem But Rabbi Judah's name is chiefly associated with the completion of the *Mishna* (about 200) This religious and legal code was composed in Hebrew, intermixed with Aramaic and foreign words For four centuries this volume of legends and precepts had been accumulating on the tongues and in the memories of the Jews and creating and absorbing much devout energy and fervour The work of the "Tanaim," who had taught spontaneously and with a certain power of innovation, now ceased After ages looked back upon the *Mishna* as a sacred authority, and the commentaries upon it were enshrined in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds The six parts of the *Mishna* deal with (1) *Zeraim* or seeds the repetition of prayers, and agricultural customs, tithes, etc (2) *Moed* or festivals, the Sabbath, Passover, Day of Atonement, New year and New moon, Purim, and the like, (3) *Nashim*, or women, the Levirate (marriage to a brother's widow) and other marriage regulations, vows, ordeals, divorce, and betrothal (4) *Nezikim*, or injuries, cases of property disputes, loans, pledges, modes of punishment by stoning stripes, etc One of the treatises in this part is the famous "Aboth," a collection of anecdotes and ethical maxims of great Rabbis* (5) *Kodashim*, or sacred things, sacrifices and other offerings. Though obsolete, these rules testified to a tender

* See vol II of this "History," p. 138

memory of the past, and to the Hebrew hope of a restoration of the ancient system of worship (6) Tohoroth, or cleanness, purity of vessels, leprosy, laws arising out of the exercise of the bodily functions, etc.*

3 *The Christians*

During this period we are still perplexed by the lack of definite contemporary statements as to the advance and modification of the various Christian Churches. Justin Martyr proudly alludes to the extension of his faith — "There is no people, Greek or barbarian, or of any other race, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell in tents or wander about in covered waggons, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered in the name of the crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things." Celsus noted the spread of Christian ideas among weavers, cobblers, and fullers, and its propagation by illiterate persons who preached to women and children. The Epistle to Diognetus drew a picture of the Christians, who, though outwardly habited like their neighbours and using the same language, yet formed a foreign community in ideas and morals. "Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every native land is a foreign. They marry, like all others they have children, but they do not cast away their offspring. They have the table in common but not wives. They are in the flesh, but do not live after the flesh. They obey the existing laws, but excel the laws by their lives. They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are killed and are made alive. By the Jews they are attacked as aliens and by the Greeks persecuted, and the cause of the enmity their enemies cannot tell. In short, what the soul is in the body the Christians are in the world. The soul is diffused through all the members of the body, and the Christians are spread through all the cities of the world. The Christians increase, though daily punished.' Later on Tertullian proudly cried to the pagans 'We are but of yesterday, and yet we already fill your cities islands camps, your palace, senate, and forum, we have left to you only your temples.' Such

* Grätz's *History of the Jews* vol. II, and, for the Mishna, M. Clunck and Strong's "Cyclopaedia."

declarations need not be taken literally, they simply indicate a growth of the churches, and a buoyant consciousness of, and exultation in, that growth *

Between Christians and Jews no peaceful overtures seemed possible. Jerusalem, now humbled under the title of *Ælia*, no longer offered a centre for apostles and missionaries, and its Christians spoke Greek. And though the Roman colonists at *Ælia* still believed in the healing waters of the pool of Bethesda, they attributed its power to the Great God who had no Jewish specialty. The Christians had no desire to see the Temple rebuilt, and centuries afterwards, when Omar and his Moslems came to Mount Moriah, they found the holy site a mere waste place for filth and off-scourings. If the Jews sneered at Jesus, the son of the soldier Panther, the Christians reviled the Jews as murderers and slanderers. "Other nations," says Justin Martyr, bitterly ("Trypho," xvii) "have not inflicted on us and on Christ this wrong to such an extent as you have, who in very deed are the authors of the wicked prejudice against the Just One, and us who hold by him. For after that you had crucified him, the only blameless and righteous man, you not only did not repent of the wickedness which you had committed, but at that time you selected and sent out from Jerusalem chosen men through all the land to tell that the godless heresy of the Christians had sprung up." And elsewhere he alleges that Barcochba had ordered Christians to the torture if they would not deny Jesus Christ †

Through the subject of the persecutions of the Christians we must pick our way with the greatest care. On the one hand, while the Romans were tolerant towards all open worship which did not threaten the State, they detested secret meetings, and suspected the whispered ceremonials of religious clubs. On the other hand, a large mass of the Christians no doubt led estimable and moral lives so far as related to their homes and callings. But if the Roman pagans did not understand the Christian passion for the memory of Jesus, so neither did the Christians appreciate the political basis of the Empire nor the dignity of civic methods. A Christian refused to do homage to the image

* P. Schaff's "History of the Christian Church," vol. iii

† Renan's "L'Eglise" chapter xiv

of an emperor. The pagans regarded his obstinacy as an insult to the Government, the Christians applauded the refusal as a display of loyalty to the true God. We must bear in mind that the name Christian covered many species of devotion and fanaticism. When the mob murmured that, the club meetings were scenes of debauchery, of child murder, of incest, even banquets on human flesh these wild rumours may have had a partial warrant in the lewd and disreputable proceedings of some of the nightly conventicles. And if the Romans scorned the Christian's piety, the Christian in turn as we see in the pages of Justin Martyr, did not hesitate to sneer at the Roman gods. Here then, we have an adequate element for the production of controversy, riot, and persecution. The generous temper of Antoninus or Aurelius could not and did not, make head against popular rage and official distrust towards the new faith. Some time during the decade 156-166 Polycarp, a presbyter of the Christian community at Smyrna suffered death by a proconsul's order. Legend tells how he declined to call Cæsar Lord and curse Christ. "Eighty and six years have I served Christ," said Polycarp. "how, then can I curse him my king and my saviour?" Round him as he stood tied to the stake the flames belled out like a ship's sail so that he received no harm until a soldier dispatched him with a sword thrust.

Justin Martyr was born at Shechem (Neapolis) in Samaria. From the schools of the philosophers (where he did not apparently acquire any useful intellectual training) he turned dissatisfied. Wandering on the sea shore one day, he met an old man who pointed to the Hebrew scriptures as the source of divine knowledge. He read and pondered and became a Christian. With a Cynic named Crescens he held debate. In 165 he was arrested, scourged, and beheaded. Of the writings of Justin and his disciple Tatian we shall speak hereafter.

A bewildering mixture of truth and fiction invests Lucian's account of the life and adventures of *Peregrinus Proteus* with a special interest. According to that audacious novel st, *Peregrinus* came from Parium on the Hellespont. His changes were kaleidoscopic. At one time a drunkard, an adulterer and a parricide, he assumed a new sobriety, joined the Christians and rose to various offices as prophet and

Thiasarch (club-master) When the enthusiast was arrested his Christian admirers flocked to the prison doors with gifts and deaconesses ministered to his comfort. He was released but his reputation fell when he partook of flesh offered to pagan gods. He travelled as a Cynic propagandist and at last mounted a funeral pile at the Olympic games and died a voluntary death in the flames (165)*

According to the Epistle of the Church at Lyons and Vienne the Christians in the south of France suffered an agonizing trial (177). Bishop Pothinus ninety years old died in a filthy gaol. Blandina a young bondsmaid yielded up her life under the torture of a red hot iron chain and the claws of wild beasts. A boy Ponticus died confessing the faith. The corpses of martyrs lay in the streets and horrified the citizens and the persecution ceased. A few years later an outbreak of fury against the Christians took place at Scillita in North Africa †

Of course the Christian doctrines furnished easy matter for the sarcasms of pagan observers just as the pagan mythology afforded a mark for the gibes of polemical Christians. And if the caricature discovered on a plastered wall at Rome in 1858 is a jest at Christian expense it will occasion no surprise. A childishly drawn figure stands before a crucified man who has the head of an ass or jackal. Below are scribbled the words *Alexamenos sebete theon* = Alexamenos adores God. But the sketch may be seriously intended for the jackal-headed Anubis who drew souls from hell and whom some of the Gnostics revered. The cross consists of two lines only and may be regarded as held in the hands of the divine person ‡. But it is still true that Jews and Christians were tauntingly called *Assarii* or worshippers of the ass.

Of the crystallization of beliefs into settled authoritative dogmas the process was slow. Ideas clashed fancies varied emotions changed and all these vicissitudes reflect themselves in the early literature. Generally it may be said that faith and doctrine centred chiefly round these points—

* Ferran's *L'Eglise* chapter xxiii.

† *Historia* II story vol. I. section 2. Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall* chapter xv. points to the probability of the number of Christian martyrs being very few relatively to the population of the Empire.

‡ C. W. King's *Gnostics* chapter on the Abraxas.

God as the Despot or Master, the Son, attested by prophecy and declared by apostles, the necessity for moral discipline pursuant to the standard of Christ's teaching, baptism, prayer, the holy meal, the prospect of resurrection and of the coming of Christ. The expectation of a Millennium (Chiliasm) or thousand years' reign of Christ, still kept a powerful hold. Christianity, struggling and despised dreamed of triumph and glory. The time would come when sure of earthly success, it would gradually lose interest in the vision of a problematic millennium. It still however, maintained its view of a final judgment and was already tending towards a detailed display of the scenery of hell such as the Gospels and Paul had conspicuously avoided. At first the New People marched forward in scattered groups. The groups now approached, a main body began to appear, and the outlying churches earned the name of heretics. The Gnostics increased in numbers. Prodicus formed the school of the Adamites of whom the report ran that they met in shameless nudity in their conventicles. Montanus caused wide excitement by his announcement that the gospel was but a preparation for a great shedding forth of the Spirit now inaugurated by himself. The Alogians denied the authority of the Gospel of John its teaching concerning the Logos and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit which it enunciated, and they sternly set aside the wild dreams of the Apocalypse. Disputes agitated the churches on questions as to the nature of Jesus and his precise relations with the Eternal Father.*

The rites of the churches gathered significance and assumed greater definiteness. Baptism was now known as the Enlightenment (photismos) and the Seal the baptised receiving a mark upon their foreheads. Solemn procedure paved the way for baptism—and only the catechumen prepared by fasting and prayer could plunge into the purifying water. The baptismal formula which repeated the names of the Father Son and Holy Spirit gained currency. The holy kiss followed baptism and a celebration of the Eucharist. The Love feast as a mere social repast, was falling into ill fame, and the Lord's Supper assumed

* Kurtz's History vol. 1 sect. on 33. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History vol. 1 century II.

increased dignity. Some speculative minds saw in the bread and wine (often only water was used) substances which were more than symbols and in which a mystical virtue of the very body and blood of Jesus inhered.*

Soon after the middle of the second century disputing tongues argued the question as to which was the proper day for the celebration of the Passover or Paschal feast—a melancholy indication of the dying out of that first fervour which animated Jesus and Paul and which spurned the petty foolishness of ecclesiastical controversy. The Libonite Christians kept the Passover on the 14th day of the month Nisan the day on which according to the Synoptic gospels, Christ himself partook of the supper his death occurring on the 15th. The Christians of Asia Minor though transforming the old ritual into a Love-feast and Eucharist, also observed the 14th as the Paschal day. But about 155-160, when Polycarp bishop of Smyrna went to Rome, he found that bishop Anicetus regarded the 14th Nisan as the day of Christ's death and mourned and fasted on the 14th (if it happened to be Friday, if not, on the next Friday) and until the Sunday which joyful praises marked as the day of resurrection and hope. This practice of taking the 14th as the crucifixion day spread through the West, and to Egypt Palestine Pontus and Greece. The two bishops, Polycarp and Anicetus, amicably agreed to differ though Polycarp quoted the example of the apostle John for his practice of observing the 14th as the Passover day. It is however, manifest that this fact clashes with the theory of the apostle John being the author of the Fourth Gospel, since the Fourth Gospel regards the 14th Nisan as the day on which Jesus, himself the Lamb of God died on the cross, and forever abolished the need of further Mosaic celebrations. Later Christians displayed a sharper temper than the two bishops. They arrayed themselves in rival schools. The Easterns gave themselves out as Quartodecimans. Towards the end of the century Victor bishop of Rome, jealously noting the customs of the Asiatics of Ephesus and the district, wrote to them a censorious letter and threatening to break off relations between their churches. Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, rep'd with dignity that the Quarto-

* Harnack's "History of Dogma" chapter 11. Kurtz section 36

deciman mode rested on ancient tradition, and added "I am now sixty five years in the Lord, and having conferred with the brethren throughout the world, and having studied the whole of the sacred Scriptures, am not at all alarmed at those things with which I am threatened and intimidated." For they who are greater than I have said, We ought to obey God rather than men." The divergence and the quarrels continued to agitate the churches for many years until the Council of Nicea, when the Roman practice triumphed, and the Easter festival shook off its Judaic associations.*

The modest clubs and the republican groups of the early Saints were developing into churches with ecclesiastical government. The chief presbyter, the episkopos, assumed more power and responsibility. Urban bishops took higher rank than the heads of rustic churches, and a tendency to group episkopates round central authorities revealed itself. As we have just seen, bishops argued and remonstrated, and perhaps menaced, in the names of their congregations. Rome did not yet possess, but it journeyed towards, the place of pre-eminence. Presbyters advised and assisted the episkopos. Deacons accompanied bishops on their tours, distributed alms, baptised, carried round the cup at Eucharistic meetings, uttered the public prayers, read from the sacred manuscripts, and sometimes gave exhortations. In the third century the official orders broke into yet more subdivisions. A line was gradually marked between the clergy and the laity, the presbyter, both in name and function, became the priest, and no longer, as in simpler times, could laymen administer the holy bread and wine, or preach the edifying word. Church councils, or synods, still admitted the laity to listen, but the decisions on doctrine and ritual fell increasingly into the hands of the ecclesiastics. By the beginning of the third century the Christians had ventured to leave the caves, the hill sides, the barns and catacombs, or the slave-rooms of villas, and we hear of oblong buildings provided with holy tables and reading-desks, where the disciples assembled to pray, to communicate, and to raise the glad hymn†. The Sunday

* Kurtz's 'History,' vol. I. section 37. Baur's 'Church History,' vol. II. Davidson's 'Introduction' vol. II., section on the Fourth Gospel.

† Kurtz's 'History,' vol. I., sections 34 and 36.

had now replaced the Sabbath in the affections of the Christians. On this first day no Christian might fast, or pray kneeling. Though not looked upon as a day of rest, it naturally took on that character as when, for example, Christian masters permitted slaves to join the Sunday assemblies. Piety had already commenced to venerate the ashes of martyrs. Symbols took hold of the popular imagination—the palm, the dove and olive leaf, the fish, the anchor, the phoenix, the T as representing the Cross, the IAO of the Gnostics. Belief in miracles and visions survived. Christians used holy oil even for the cure of pagans, and the very heathen sometimes exorcised devils in the name of Jesus. Nevertheless the power of healing, and the capacity for visions* and revelations more and more restricted itself to the clergy, and inspiration was thought to reside in priests and in antique documents. Celibacy gained ground among the clergy*.

A disposition was growing up to esteem marriage less than virginity and widowhood. As by Jews, and yet more by Romans, so by the early Christians divorce was discouraged. Christians forbade marriage with Jews and pagans. Marriage was first performed in accordance with the requirements of Roman Law, and then sanctified by a service in the presence of the Church. The pagan practice of crowning the wedded and veiling the bride was condemned, but Christians retained the wedding ring† (a token borrowed from old Egyptian custom). Pagan writers had often alluded to sexual relations with irreverence and jest. Christian authors, while equally and grossly blunt in their descriptions of sexual phenomena, oscillated in the reverse direction of severity and suspicion. Pagan women being accorded conspicuous liberty, they secured increased rights over property and children, they moved freely in public, and unveiled, they dined with men, they pursued the study of literature, they assisted political movements, and fulfilled certain functions in the public worship. Among the Christians women did at first take a leading part, they ministered to Christ, they appeared in the foreground of the Resurrection legend, they prophesied, they acted as

* Penan's "Marc Aurele" chapter xxix.

† K. rtz's "History" vol. 1 section 39.

deaconesses. But Christian sentiment seemed to narrow itself. Tertullian did indeed draw a bright picture of the Christian married pair—"They are brother and sister, two fellow-servants one spirit and one flesh. They pray together fast together, instruct exhort, and support each other. They go together to the Church of God, and to the table of the Lord. They delight to visit the sick supply the needy, give alms without constraint, and in daily zeal lay their offerings before the altar without scruple or hindrance" etc. But two facts require noting—first, that the Churches extended no right of public office or authority to women, and second, that the duties of women were rigidly confined to the household—shopping, cooking preparing the couch, and, when they visited the sick or attended the conventicle they must needs go veiled. Loudly and harshly the Christian fathers condemned all graces of the person—the use of jewellery of cosmetics of flowing hair of mirrors. In womanly beauty lurked temptation uncomely vestments must cover the elegant lines of the figure. If the pagan poet tripped gaily into a perilous lust, the Christian teacher waded morosely in an equally perilous asceticism. Of children and their winning simplicity and prattle, the Christian writers say next to nothing. Children stand for the continuance of the species and the world, and the Christians longed to escape from the world, and anticipated the end of the present order. On the other hand Christian pity and theology combined to rescue the miserable babes of whom public opinion had allowed the exposure and death. Christian hands snatched new born infants from the river or the frost. Even in the foetus they discerned the glimmer of a soul which God valued, and which Christ redeemed.* A like commixture of motives urged the Christians to cry out against the races, and pageants and combats of men and beasts of women and dwarfs in the amphitheatres. Tenderness towards the suffering and the oppressed thrilled in this protest but in it there also worked a spirit of dissatisfaction with all that presented colour mirth, and diversion.

* Article by J. Donaldson in *Contemporary Review* September 1889 on "Women among the Early Christians." For a view more favourable to Christianity see Schaff's *History of the Christian Church* vol. III., chapter VIII.

The Saints, who humanely scouted the gladiatorial show, showed a strange aversion from the bath and the gymnasium*.

Very great caution should be exercised in estimating the social results of early Christianity. Undoubtedly the primitive Saints set in motion a moral force—an ethical enthusiasm for self control and compassion—which served to soften many crude opinions and customs. But among the pagans also an enlightened spirit made itself felt both in social habits and in legislation. Continually the Roman emperors of the second century mitigated the system which once permitted the abandonment of old and infirm slaves, the slaying of bondsmen by masters, the assignment of slaves to unsuitable employments, the separation of parents and children. On a very large scale various emperors and benevolent rich people supported poor children in Rome and elsewhere. Institutions were founded for the nurture of young girls. The stream of humanitarianism flowed on as a general social movement productive of noble qualities both among pagans and Christians. As for the Christians we may expect that their virtues and defects alike will come into relief in the course of our examination of their contemporary literature†.

27 *Lucian and Celsus*—The witty Lucian was born at Samosata on the Euphrates about 120 C.E. and may have died about 200. Apprenticed to an uncle who carved statuary and disliking his position he ran away picked up a living as a speech maker and rhetorician wrote satires in elegant Greek prose and at the close of his life acted as custodian of State documents for the Egyptian Government. He laughed at mankind at religion at the popular morality, at philosophy. How much seriousness lay behind his sarcasms and his amusing anecdotes we need not inquire. He is welcome to us as a portrayer of life and manners and as a brilliant journalist (so to speak) in whose essays are contained allusions to Christian and other current beliefs.

* Renan's *Marc Aurele* chapter xxx.

† Much interesting matter though somewhat biased on the side of Christianity will be found in C. Schmidt's *Social Results of Early Christianity*.

We must of course, take all he says with a certain reserve. With delightful candour, he writes in the preface of his "True History" (the story of a voyage to the moon): "I tell at least one truth by saying that I lie, and the more confidently hope, therefore, to escape the general censure, since my own voluntary confession is a sufficient proof that I desire to impose upon no one. Accordingly I hereby declare that I sit down to relate what never befell me." But out of Lucian's jests we may sometimes succeed in gleaming facts.

There is, however, one celebrated treatise in which he appears to speak soberly—that entitled "On the Syrian Goddess." In this he describes the wonderful temple at Hierapolis—its spacious vestibule containing two lofty obelisks (*phalli*), the gates of beaten gold, the statues of the deities, the brazen altar, the sacred fish pond, the white-robed priests, the pontiff with golden tiara, the eunuchs who flog one another to the sound of flute and drum, the public self-mutilation of fanatical young men, the spring festival, when trees are cut down and, after live animals clothing jewels etc., have been attached to their branches and foliage, burned in view of the devout multitudes.

Lucian's narrative of the 'Death of Peregrinus' we have already referred to (p. 212). His ridicule of Christians deserves attention — They worship the famous magus who was crucified in Palestine for having introduced these novel mysteries [laws] into the world." Again "These poor people have taken it into their heads that they shall body and soul, be immortal, and live to all eternity thence it is that they condemn death and that many of them run voluntarily into his clutches. Besides, their original legislator [? Paul] taught them that they were all brothers, when they had taken the great step to renounce the Greek deities and bow their head to their crucified sophist, and live in conformity to his laws. All things else they despise in the lump, holding them vain and worthless, without having a competent reason for being attached to these opinions. Whenever therefore any cunning impostor applies to them who understands the proper trick, he finds it an easy matter to lead these simple people by the nose, and very soon to become a rich man at their expense.

A very extraordinary example of such popular credulity he gives at length in his account of a charlatan whom he had personally known—viz, Alexander of Abonotichus [Abonotichus stood on the shore of the Black Sea] He tells, in a series of vivid and romantic incidents, how Alexander practised quack medicine and sleight of hand; and set up as an oracle, pretending that he had dug up brass plates inscribed with a prophecy of his advent as *Æsculapius*. His flowing hair, handsome face, purple tunic, and white cloak, his shining falchion, and the incantations which he muttered, filled the country folk with admiration. From a goose's egg he made believe to hatch a serpent—a harmless snake which he had kept concealed till the auspicious moment. "I am the light of the world," the new born serpent was alleged to have whispered. Alexander and his serpent dwelt in a specially built temple. Crowds flocked from far and near to ask questions of the god. Profuse gifts flowed in upon the prophet. Rutilian, a Roman senator, became a dupe. Lucian was a friend of the senator, and determined to expose the prophet. Though possessed of convincing proofs of Alexander's deceptions, Lucian could not dissuade Rutilian from his folly. Returning from his errand by water, he narrowly escaped death, the crew having been hired by Alexander to throw Lucian overboard. The prophet lived to a good old age. The educated classes scorned him, and the Christians rejected his claims. Towards both his enmity was so marked that, at the opening of the mock mysteries which he instituted, the proclamation was made to the people: "If any atheist, or Christian, or Epicurean be come as a spy, in a treacherous design, to these celebrations, let him depart hence!"*

Celsus lived and wrote (so the very scanty evidence seems to show) in the latter part of the second century. He issued a criticism of the Christian religion under the title of *Alēthēs Logos*, or, *The True Word*. The famous Origen (died 254) replied to *Celsus* in an essay containing eight books, and he has preserved numerous quotations which enable us to form an adequate notion of the character and

* Article in "Encyclopædia Britannica," article by J. A. Froude in *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1879, and translation of Lucian's works, published in 1820, by William Tooke.

contents of "The True Word" Celsus opens his discourse by putting on the stage of argument a Jew, who attacks the new religion from a Hebrew standpoint, and to this imaginary disputant Origen continually refers as "this Jew of Celsus." The Jew repeats the story, already given (pp. 133, 134) of the illegitimate birth of Jesus. He reproaches Jesus for not performing at the Temple, in the sight of the public, works which would have proved his divinity, and contemns him for having attempted to conceal himself from danger, and for having failed to awaken sufficient loyalty in his disciples to prevent the treason of Judas. The Jew rejects the resurrection legend. Who saw the supposed risen Jesus? A "half frantic woman," dreamers, impostors. "If Jesus," urges the critic, "desired to show that his power was really divine, he ought to have appeared to those who had ill-treated him, and to him who had condemned him, and to all men universally." Then Celsus, dropping his fictitious Jew, speaks in his own name. He points out that Christianity, which split off from Jewdom as the Jews had abandoned Egypt, showed a tendency to divide into sects and heresies. Only a low grade of intelligence, he avers, accepts the Christian myth. "We see indeed, in private houses workers in wool and leather, and fullers, and persons of the most uneducated and rustic character, not venturing to utter a word in the presence of their elders and wiser masters, but when they get hold of the children privately and certain women as ignorant as themselves they pour forth wonderful statements to the effect that they ought not to give heed to their father and to their teachers but should obey them [the Christian expounders], that the former are foolish and stupid, and neither know nor can perform anything that is really good, being pre-occupied with empty trifles, that *they* alone know how men ought to live, and that, if the children obey them, they will both be happy themselves, and will make their home happy also. And while thus speaking if they see one of the instructors of youth approaching or one of the more intelligent class or even the father himself, the more timid among them become afraid, while the more forward incite the children to throw off the yoke" etc. Celsus suspects the Christian doctrine of sin and conversion. "To change nature is an exceedingly difficult thing," he observes. And he objects

to the overtenderness which the gospel exhibits towards the erring. Why, he proceeds, did God descend to the earth, at all? God, he pleads, was "good, beautiful, and blessed, and that in the best and most beautiful degree." Such a God could not take on an imperfect incarnation, and to have assumed a mortal form in appearance only would have been a lie and deceit. He pours scorn on the Jews and Christians who, like bats or ants or frogs, imagine, with contemptible arrogance, that to them the great God has awarded a special and peculiar revelation of himself. Man is but an item in the cosmos. "All things were not made for man, any more than they were made for lions or eagles or dolphins, but that this world, as being God's work, might be perfect and entire in all respects. For this reason all things have been adjusted, not with reference to each other, but with regard to their bearing upon the whole. And God takes care of the whole, and his providence will never forsake it, and it does not become worse, nor does God after a time bring it back to himself: nor is he angry on account of men any more than on account of apes or flies, nor does he threaten these beings, each one of which has received its appointed lot in its proper place." Celsus considers the Platonic philosophy superior to the gospel. Plato did not set up supernatural claims, nor give minute descriptions of God's attributes, nor assert that God had a son on earth. The critic goes on to expose the inconsistency of a creed which admits the power of Satan in counterworking the designs of God himself. And if God, he remarks with sternness really wished to reveal himself to mankind, would he choose so gross a method as Christians believed in? Would he have breathed his spirit into the body of a woman? Would he not have created a figure distinguished for grandeur, beauty, strength, and winsomeness? But Jesus was inconspicuous, ill-favoured, ignoble. Celsus beseeches these 'body-loving Christians' to abandon such anthropomorphic ideas. "If, turning away the eye of the body, you open the eye of the mind, thus, and thus only will you be able to see God." To miss this divine intuition, and yearn after visible signs and tokens, was to walk as cripples and lead a merely animal life. In the latter pages of his "True Word" Celsus engages in a curious controversy on the subject of the gods or demons who

presided over the changes of nature, the fruits of the earth the course of life. To ignore these *dæmons*, who were the ministers of the Supreme, was to deny the divine government, and Christians might as well cut themselves off from the interests of life, abstain from marriage, and hasten to die. Origen replied by separating the spirits into evil demons, to whom no worship was due, and good angels, who claimed grateful recognition, but not adoration. Celsus, indeed, has a political end in view, as well as theological. For, after inviting the Christians to conform with the State ritual—"if anyone commands you to celebrate the sun or to sing a joyful triumphal song in praise of Minerva, you will, by celebrating their praises, seem to render the higher praise to God"—he expresses a fear lest Christian indifference may prove to be a danger to the Empire, and asks the followers of Jesus to "take office in the government of the country, if that is required for the maintenance of the laws and the support of religion." *

28. The Later Gnostics.—The *Ophites* those strange religious groups who made tame serpents a central feature in their ceremonies, and whose doctrines had arisen earlier than the gospel of Jesus, naturally borrowed traditions and conceptions from the Christian creed. Four main sects may be noticed. (1) The Naasenes, who esteemed the serpent as the emblem of that intellectual power which had lifted the first human pair to the possession of divine knowledge. (2) The Peratæ, who believed that the Son took the shape of a serpent—he redeemed men from the power of the bad Archon who rules the world, and it was he whom Moses represented by the serpent of brass. With this school were connected the Cainites, who sought to find a soul of good in evil things, thus they glorified Cain as a martyr who opposed the will of the tyrant Yahveh of the Old Testament, and they gave praise to Judas Iscariot as a hero who ingeniously contrived to bring Jesus to the blessed cross. (3) The Sethites looked upon man's nature as three fold—the material, as in Cain, the psychical, as in Abel,

* Baur's "Church History" vol. II. the essay "Against Celsus," in vols. X and XIII. of "The Ante-Nicene Christian Library," article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

the pneumatic, as in holy Seth, who was the first Gnostic. Seth had endeavoured to save an elect race in the ark of Noah, but wicked Ham crept in, and spoilt the plan of redemption, but, in after ages, Seth took the form of Christ, and achieved the noble work. (4) The followers of Justin [not Justin Martyr]. Justin gives the history of a long historic duel between the good angel, Baruch, and the malicious spirit, Naas. Baruch dwelt in the Edenic tree of life, Naas in the fatal tree of knowledge. Naas tempted Eve to her fall, Baruch inspired prophets to call mankind to the way of life. At length Baruch became incarnated in Jesus, Naas caused the tragedy of the crucifixion, the spirit of Jesus escaped to heaven, leaving his body and soul in the hands of the evil powers.*

Towards the middle of the second century the opinion arose among certain Gnostic thinkers that the Christ to whom the Saints looked for salvation had never been embodied in true flesh and blood, but, as a phantom had walked the earth and borne the suffering of Calvary. This doctrine of illusion is known as *Docetism* †

Valentinus, whose name stands in the first rank of the Gnostics, went to Rome about 140, and taught his system for some twenty years. He developed a cosmogony, or plan of the universe, which dazzles with its complexity and touches our sympathy by its profound aspirations. The Father of all, the Absolute Being dwelt in silence. From this divine source pairs of *Lons*, male and female, came into existence, their names—Mind Truth Word, Life, Man Church, etc.—indicating their symbolic character. The *Æons*, twenty-eight in number constituted the august circle of the *Pleroma*. The youngest *Æon* is *Sophia*. She is a type of the restless desire of man after hidden wisdom. She tears herself from the company of the *Pleroma*, and flings herself into the awful *Bythos* or Depth, wherein the Absolute resides. The union only produced an abortion, and *Sophia*, prostrate with grief and shame, was received back into the *Pleroma* by the compassionate *Æons*. The great Father now created two new *Æons* the Christ and the Holy Spirit. The abortive offspring of *Sophia* becomes the

* Mansel's "Gnostics" lecture vii. Kurtz's "History" section 27

† Baur's "Church History," vol. II. part I.

mystical spirit Achamoth. From her passions, and tears, and smiles emanated a vast cycle of life, including the Demiurge, the fiery God pictured in the Old Testament. The Demiurge made mankind, but, unknown to him, the higher powers had instilled pneumatic instincts into human souls, which impelled them to seek for light and peace in the *Pleroma*. To aid them in this search came Jesus the Christ. Though nailed to a cross, he suffered no real pangs. Christ revealed the deep spiritual order of things that lay behind the Demiurge and the Mosaic law. Christ and Achamoth are united. The spiritual realm is opened to the highest class of the redeemed—viz., the initiated Gnostics, the region of the Demiurge is allotted to such Jews and Christians as have fallen short of the true gnosis, and the carnal portion of the human race are blotted out of existence. Valentinus had many disciples, among them being the teachers Heracleon and Ptolemy, and (about the beginning of the third century) Bardesanes*. To the writings of the Valentinian school belongs a Gnostic romance entitled the *Pistis Sophia*. It relates the adventures of the unfortunate Sophia, who had made a rash attempt to reach the Absolute. Jesus the Redeemer assists her to regain the kingdom of light. Peter and Mary Magdalene take part in the dialogues. In answer to Mary Jesus gives detailed accounts of torments for sin. Much stress is laid on the importance of observing a holy sacrament called the Mystery of the Ineffable One. The book closes with prayers uttered by Jesus as he stands by the sea on a mountain or in mid air. He performs, with wine and water, the blessed Mystery, and then discourses upon the magical significance of the signs of the Zodiac, and of the sacred names of the planets, etc.†

Cerdo, the Syrian, a Gnostic preacher in Rome (about 140) maintained that the "good" God of Christianity differed from the "just" God of Judaism.

Cerdo's doctrine was adopted and expounded by *Marcion*. Born at Sinope in Pontus (Asia Minor) and enriched by his business of a shipmaster, Marcion settled in Rome,

where he died about 170. The Saints of Rome refused him a place in their fellowship, and he, sarcastically reminding them that new wine could not be poured into old bottles, withdrew to form a church of his own. His church spread wide. Italy, Pontus, Cyprus, Egypt, Syria, and Arabia had their Marcionite congregations. Explorers have discovered in Syria the ruins of a Marcionite temple.* The great Gnostic preached a rigid ethics. He condemned the theatre and the circus, and frowned upon personal adornment. Dividing his followers into two classes, the Elect and the Catechumens (learners), he forbade the first to marry. But the procedure of his churches was simple, and the Catechumens took free share in the services. Tired by deep enmity to Judaism, Marcion put aside the whole of the Old Testament, and found in Paul the only true teacher of the Christian faith. He accepted ten letters as the genuine productions of Paul—Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians, but he did not receive these books in their present form. The other books which are now included in the New Testament he rejected as tainted by Hebrew thought. He possessed an evangel which he named the *Gospel of the Lord*. It ran parallel to "Luke" to a large extent, but was characterised by notable variations. Marcion's gospel contained no genealogy, and began thus: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Jesus came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and was teaching on the sabbath days, and they were astonished at his doctrine, for his word was in authority. References to Old Testament prophecy have no place in Marcion's gospel. Instead of "You shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God," Marcion reads, "You shall see all the righteous." His version of the Lord's Prayer commences "Father, let thy Holy Spirit come upon us, Hallowed be thy name," etc. Marcion's opponents accused him of purposely omitting certain passages from "Luke," and altering others. Whether he did so or not we cannot now decide. He so much disliked Judaism that he wrote a book of "Antitheses" or

* Herzog's (Schaff's edition) "Encyclopædia of Religion and Knowledge"

discrepancies between the Old and New Testaments. His objections to the Hebrew traditions showed acuteness and moral discrimination. Among other things, he criticised Yahveh for having created man in his own image, and then allowing him to fall into sin, for asking where Adam was, as if ignorant, for permitting the Israelites to rob the Egyptians, for prohibiting graven images and yet setting cherubim over the ark, for repenting of his choice of Saul as king, for threatening to destroy his own people of Israel, and only refraining at the pleading of Moses, etc. Yahveh the Demiurge proclaimed a law, but could not educate the world into keeping it. Therefore, the good God who ruled higher than Yahveh revealed the Logos to save mankind from the incompetence of the Demiurge. The jealous Yahveh sought Christ's death, but only in appearance did the Saviour die on the cross (*ſc.*, Marcion taught the Docetic doctrine). Descending to hell Christ—so Marcion maintained, perhaps not without irony—liberated all the brave souls, such as Cain, Esau, Korah Sodomites and Egyptians, who had defied the God of the Jews, and left in Hades the wretched men—Abel, Enoch Noah, and the leading patriarchs and prophets who had servilely obeyed the Demiurge. Marcion appears also to have asserted the existence of an evil Matter or Hyle, which conjoined itself with Yahveh. But he built up no complicated system of Pleroma and Æons, and thus stands outside the more pronounced Gnostic ranks. It should be observed however, that none of the actual writings of Marcion have come down to us his gospel and his opinions being known only through quotations in *Irenæus Tertullian etc.* Several disciples carried on Marcion's propaganda, such as Prepon the Assyrian, Apelles and Hermogenes, the African painter. Of these Apelles (died about 180) was the most distinguished. The true God, said Apelles, created a superior angelic world. One of the angels created the human world, which fell into corruption, and was redeemed by Christ. Apelles compiled a catalogue of passages from the Pentateuch which exposed the weakness of the Hebrew deity. A singular frankness marked this Gnostic teacher. In his old age he confessed to one of his Christian adversaries that he experienced a difficulty in proving the existence of one and only God, he did indeed believe in such a being, but.

he based his doctrine on faith alone. The Marcionite church lingered on into the fifth century. It had its martyrs, and holy virgins, and austere monks *

29 The Last Book of the New Testament—About 150–170, and possibly at Rome, appeared the last writing now incorporated in the New Testament. This was the document commonly entitled the “Second Epistle of Peter.” For more than two centuries doubts as to authenticity gathered round this epistle. Origen quoted it as Peter’s.

The first words run as follows. “Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ, to those who have obtained a like precious faith with us in the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Grace to you and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God and of Jesus our Lord.” The Saints have taken on the divine nature, and escaped the corrupt and lustful world, and the writer exhorts them to make their divine title sure. Speaking in his supposed character of Peter the Apostle, he says he is about to die, and so regards it as a solemn duty to edify the people. And he adds, “We did not follow cunningly-devised fables, when we made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but we were eye-witnesses of his majesty. For he received from God the father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,’ and this voice we ourselves heard come out of heaven, when we were with him in the holy mount” [of Transfiguration]. The writer then launches out into strong and intolerant abuse of certain heretics who “deny even the Master that bought them.” He pauses a moment to asseverate. “This is now, beloved, the second epistle that I write unto you;” proceeds to foretell the new heaven and earth, and closes with a recommendation to Christians to read the epistles of “our beloved Paul,” epistles which, unhappily, certain ill disposed persons have distorted out of their legitimate meaning “unto their own destruction.”

* Renan’s “Marc Aurele,” chapter ix. Kurtz’s “History” section 27, Baur’s “Church History,” vol. i, Mansel’s “Gnostic Heresies,” lecture xiii, “Antiqua Mater,” chapter ix. J. Hamlyn Hill has published an English version of the *Gospel of the Lord*.

besides the Creator of all and likewise another son. And thus many have believed as if he alone knew the truth and they laugh at us though they have no proof of what they say but are carried away irrationally as lambs by a wolf and become the prey of atheistical doctrines and of devils. He offers texts from the Jewish scriptures as valid testimony to the truth of doctrines. His ethical ideas are in no way profound or expansive. Every race, he remarks, 'knows that adultery is an evil and fornication and the killing of man and other such like things. Righteousness has two aspects in conduct towards God and towards man. When he says "We are brothers by nature" (Trypho 134) he merely alludes to the kinship between Jews and Christians, and he does not evince a warm sense of the brotherhood of the race. He rebukes polygamists and condemns the exposure of children. Of slavery he says nothing.

Justin's *Apology*, addressed in or about 150 to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, the Senate and the Roman people, covers two sections, the so-called Second *Apology* being a continuation or appendix. The language used is Greek. The Apologist beseeches for calm consideration of the claims of Christians. "We are accused of being Christians and to hate what is Chrestos (excellent) is unjust. Impelled by devils the persecutors called Christians atheists just as the enemies of Socrates stigmatised him as such. But Christians, replies Justin, are not atheists, they worship the Father and Creator, they abhor idols, they look for a heavenly kingdom, they live soberly under God's eye. We who formerly delighted in fornication now embrace chastity alone, we who formerly used magical arts now dedicate ourselves to the good and unbegotten God, we who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions, now bring what we have into a common stock and communicate to every one in need, and pray for our enemies" and he cites Christ's words in favour of patience, non-swearing and civil obedience. Justin goes on to point out analogies between Christian tradition and classical mythology. When we say that the Logos, who is the first birth of God, was produced without sexual union and that the Jesus Christ, our teacher, was crucified and died and rose again and ascended into heaven, we propound nothing different from what you [pagans] believe regarding those

whom you esteem sons of Jupiter"—e.g., Mercury, Esculapius, Bacchus Hercules, the Dioscuri, Perseus, Bellerophon Justin gravely assures his readers that Christ's incarnation was predicted by various Hebrew prophets before he appeared 'first 5 000 years before, and again 3 000 then 2 000 then 1 000 and yet again 800;' and he gives a series of alleged prophecies from the Old Testament. From the prophet Moses even Plato had not disdained to borrow ideas, as when following the hint of the cross like brazen serpent, he told how God impressed the soul mark of a χ upon the cosmos (see p. 107). Near the close of his treatise Justin describes the Christian customs of Baptism Eucharist, and Sunday worship, and roundly declares that the wicked devils had induced the followers of Mithra to imitate these Christian rites. The second part of the Apology relates the martyrdom of several Christians, and Justin contends that such Stoic martyrs as Heraclitus and Musonius were hated because they had apprehended part of the truth of the Logos. In Christ, however the whole truth was revealed. After repeating Xenophon's story of the choice of Hercules between luxurious Vice and unadorned Virtue, Justin affirms that the Christians have also made the right choice in behalf of an innocent life, and have demonstrated their innocence by their contempt of death.

The *Dialogue with Trypho a Jew* tells first how Justin, arrayed in his academic cloak, was accosted one morning by the cry of 'Hail, O philosopher.' The new-comer was Trypho a Hebrew. Trypho and his companions engage in conversation with Justin and fall to discussing the relative merits of Judaism and the Christian faith. Trypho willingly concedes that the rumours which speak of Christians midnight meetings and lewd promiscuousness after the extinction of the lamps are but the idle gossip of the mob; but he grieves at the Christian disobedience to the law prescribing circumcision. Justin eagerly answers that salvation does not come through the Mosaic law, but through the New Law, even Christ himself. The ordinances which God gave the Jews with respect to food, Sabbaths, sacrifices, and the like, were intended to regulate a sinful race. Enoch and other saints who lived before the age of Moses practised no circumcision. Naturally this

in the reverential manner that he assumes when quoting from the Old Testament *

31—The Stream of Christian Literature to the Close of the Second Century—After taking leave of Justin Martyr we experience less need for separate descriptive sections on early Christian authors. The first obscurities we have more or less successfully penetrated. Emerging now into a more open field of history, we may follow the stream of literature which conducts to the well-developed Church of the third century. As hitherto our course will as far as possible, follow the chronological line.

Papias was the episkopos of the Christians at the Phrygian city Hierapolis the birthplace of Epictetus the Stoic. He is said to have died a martyr in Rome in the decade 160–170. He wrote in five books an Exposition of the Lord's Oracles. Only fragments remain in the works of Eusebius and others. Of these several have attained a classic fame in the pages of Biblical criticism. One passage (see p. 121) alludes to Mark, another (see p. 125) to Andrew, James John Aristion, etc. Papias broached an idea which occurs in the Apocalypse of Baruch, to the effect that in the happy future the vines shall grow each with ten thousand shoots each shoot with ten thousand branches and so on in bewildering subdivision. His fourth book contained an absurd picture of the retribution which befel Judas the traitor. Judas walked about in this world a terrible example of impiety his flesh swollen to such an extent that where a waggon can pass with ease he was not able to pass no not even the mass of his head merely. They say that his eyelids swelled to such an extent that he could not see the light at all while as for his eyes they were not visible even by a physician looking through an instrument so far had they sunk from the surface †.

Quadratus an apologist for the Christian faith addressed his plea to the emperor Hadrian. The work has disappeared. Quadratus is said to have made the amazing

* Justin Martyr's works vol. of the Ante Nicene Christian Library Johnson's *Antiqua Mater* chapter 1 Donaldson's History of Christian Literature and Doctrine vol.
 † Donaldson's History of Christianity in the first century Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers Speculum Pelagianum vol. 1

statement that in his days persons raised from the dead by Jesus still survived

Aristides 'a philosopher of Athens' wrote a pamphlet inscribed to the emperor Antonine Ius (138-161). A Syriac translation of the composition came to light in 1889.* 'I O King by the grace of God came into this world' the argument opens, and the Christian philosopher considers the question of God's existence and nature his might and majesty. 'Adversary he has none.' Four theologies are described—those of (1) the Barbarians who have found God in the forms of earth water fire, air sun and ancestors, (2) the Greeks who created deities in male and female shapes—Chronos Rhea Zeus Hephaistos, Dionysus Apollo etc., denies whose gross amours and vices and weaknesses make them unworthy of worship though worse than all peoples on the earth are the Egyptians who adore the slain Osiris and reverence pgs, hawks fishes and even on ons. After this digression touching the Egyptians Aristides again upbraids the Greeks for their anthropomorphic religious ideas. (3) the Jews who worship God and not his works and 'have compassion on the poor and ransom the captive and bury the dead' things which are acceptable to God and are well pleasing also to men but who devote a mistaken piety to sabbaths new moons and passovers. (4) the Christians who observed the precepts of the Decalogue who abstain from the meats of idol sacrifices who do good to enemies who are pure in wedlock and are kind to servants widows and orphans, who provide for the burial of the poor brethren and provide for the needs of such as are imprisoned for conscience sake and who labour to become righteous as those that expect to see the Messiah and receive from him the promises made to them with great glory. So holy do the Christians live that their examples oft times convert the lewd Greeks to the true faith. Of this faith Aristides gives a summary. The Christians reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ who is named the Son of God most high and it is said that God came down from heaven and from a Hebrew virgin took and clad himself with flesh and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God. This is taught from that gospel which a little while ago was spoken among them as being preached wherein if you also will read you will comprehend

the power that is upon it. This Jesus, then, was born of the tribe of the Hebrews, and he had twelve disciples, in order that a certain dispensation of his might be fulfilled. [an obscure sentence] He was pierced by the Jews, and he died and was buried, and they say that after three days he rose and ascended to heaven, and then these twelve [including Judas?] disciples went forth into the known parts of the world, and taught concerning his greatness with all humility and sobriety, and *on this account* [note the phrase] those also who to-day believe in this preaching are called Christians, who are well known." The latter statement evidently runs parallel with Justin Martyr's belief in the connection between Christian and Chrestos (good) *

Between 150 and 180 an agitation, raised by Montanus (about 156) at Ardaban in Phrygia inaugurated a movement that did not die out till the fourth century. Not long before Montanus had thrown off the functions of a pagan priest. His new enthusiasm expressed itself in fervid exhortations to the Phrygian crowds to fast, to abstain from second marriage, to prize celibacy, to regard murder and idolatry as permanently excluding a disciple from the Church, to meet martyrdom with joy, to watch for the near Millennium, and to accept the latest revelation of God through the Paraclete, the Comforter the Holy Spirit. This Paraclete found embodiment in Montanus, and in two prophetesses, Prisca and Maximilla. The three organs of the Paraclete saw visions and uttered divine oracles. Prisca saw Christ appear in female form. Montanus proclaimed a Church, a new Jerusalem which should establish itself at the towns of Pepuza and Tymion and await the descent of the spiritual city from the clouds. The Montanist societies had their patriarchs, stewards and episkopoi. From Phrygia the movement spread its waves over Asia Minor and travelled far beyond. It had many enemies as well as friends. The Alogoi, who neglected the Fourth Gospel, strenuously opposed a teaching which concentrated redemption in the Comforter. Years after the death of

* * The Apology of Arctides" edited and translated from the Syriac by J. Rendel Harris. Harnack's History of Dogma" vol. i

Montanus the vestiges and influence of Montanism are apparent in the Christian literature *

* Most interesting document, formerly described as the Second Epistle of Clement but now often called *An Inrent Homily*, is distinguished by such an absence of local or historical reference that critics greatly differ as to its place of origin and date. It may have appeared in Egypt about or later than the middle of the second century. It presents us with just such a manuscript as we can imagine an early Christian preacher to have read a discourse from to an attentive audience in the catacombs or a secluded club room. The preacher thus begins — 'Brethren we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God as of the Judge of the quick and dead. And we ought not to think mean things of our Salvation for when we think mean things of him we expect also to receive mean things. I or Iight for deliverance from the gloom of idolatry let the Saints give praise. Rejoice thou barren that bearest not. After thus citing the Old Testament the preacher observes 'Again, another scripture says I came not to call the righteous but sinners. [a quotation from an unnamed gospel]. The disciple must loyally tell the world his faith for he [Christ] himself says Whoso confesses me him will I confess before the Father. To a consistent piety the preacher earnestly exhorts. Christians must live as innocent lambs amid worldly wolves. Then the homilist quotes a dialogue between Jesus and Peter. Peter asks 'What if the wolves should tear the lambs? Jesus replies 'Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead and you also fear not them that kill you and are not able to do any thing to you etc. No man can serve two masters the warning voice proceeds. The contest for the crown must be waged, the flesh kept pure the seal unstained. Let the repentant heart pursue virtue, and find peace and wait for the day of God's appearing. The Lord himself had fixed the day at the period when the two shall be one and the outside as the inside and the male with the female neither male nor female. The Gentiles blaspheme the Name

* Harnack's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and his *History of Dogma* vol. i.

† Harnack's *History of Dogma* vol. i. note to chapter

and laugh to scorn that holy Church which is the female to Christ the male. "Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving than both for almsgiving lifts off the burden of sin. Then the homilist tenderly cautions his humble flock against being led away by the glittering world outside. "Let us not think to give heed and believe now only, while we are admonished by the presbyters (*presbuteros*), but likewise, when we have departed home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord, and not suffer ourselves to be dragged off the other way by our worldly lusts, but, coming hither more frequently, let us strive to go forward in the commands of the Lord, that we all having the same mind may be gathered unto life. Judgment approaches. In that crisis unbelievers will bewail that they "obeyed not the presbyters when they told us of our salvation, and they will pass into 'unquenchable fire.' Very modestly the preacher acknowledges his own frailty, as one who has not yet escaped temptation, but is "still amid the engines of the Devil. "Therefore, brothers and sisters," he concludes, "after the God of truth has been heard I read to you an exhortation to the end that you may give heed to the things which are written so that you may both save yourselves and him that reads in the midst of you;" and he will feel amply rewarded if he sees the disciples patiently and steadfastly enduring the discipline of God. "We are trained by the present life that we may be crowned with the future."

In the time of Marcus Aurelius, as some scholars conjecture, certain Jewish and Christian poets added fresh Greek verses to the *Sibylline Books* (Book VIII). The Jewish portion prophesies the downfall of avaricious Rome. After 'white-headed Hadrian has died amid the regrets of his people, God will come to judgment. A dragon shall harry the Romans, and the imperial city sink to the dismal shade of Hades. The Phoenix too will arise from its ashes to forecast the doom of Rome. Before Rome expires, the Anti-Messiah will invade the empire. The Messiah will erect a new and happy Jerusalem, and defeat the hosts of Anti-Messiah who is none other than the dreaded Nero revived from the dead. A Christian poem (also in Book VIII)

opens with an acrostic, each line of which begins with a letter of the sacred sentence, "Iesous Chreistos Theou Huios Soter; Stauros." In Greek the initials of the six words compose the word *Ichthus* = fish, the fish being much used as an emblem of Christ by the early Christians. The sentence just given signifies "Jesus Christ the Son of God; the Saviour, the Cross." The poet tells of the dire judgment, of the falling of stars, the blast of a trumpet, the appearance of a cross in the sky—the cross "which enlightens the elect by twelve springs." The glorified Saints will wear crowns of thorns. An injunction of Christ to feed the poor with "a table pure and of unbloody food" indicates the vegetarian tenets of the writer. The Sibyl proceeds to raise a hymn of praise to the Father and the Son Logos. The succeeding section of the poem survives only in its commencement and conclusion. It tells of the message of the angel Gabriel to Mary, "Receive, O virgin, God in thy immaculate bosom," and breaks off at the episode of the wise men, then, after the break, describes the pious life and practice of the Christians, their neighbourly love, their cheerful agape, their rigid abstinence from pagan ceremonies and sacrifices.*

The presbyter *Polycarp* (p. 212), who died a martyr's death at Smyrna, may or may not have written an *Epistle to the Philippians*, which has come down to us in Greek and Latin texts. In any case the letter disappoints by its absence of such personal details as would have aided us to trace the writer. It tamely imitates the Pauline epistles, and quotes freely from them, and various precepts of 'the Lord' are cited without mention of their literary source. The writer begins "Polycarp, and the presbyters that are with him, unto the church of God which sojourns at Philippi, mercy unto you and peace from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our Saviour be multiplied. I rejoiced with you greatly in our Lord Jesus Christ, for that you received the followers of the true Love and escorted them on their way, as befitted you [who were the persons thus hospitably escorted by the Philippian Saints?] He praises their faith, predicts the coming of the Judge, and exhorts to the moral life. "Remembering the words which the Lord spake, as he

* Deane's 'Pseudepigraphia' chapter on "The Sibylline Oracles."

commentary, in the Armenian language, still exists, and contains a series of quotations from Tatian's book. But an Arabic version of the whole book was brought to Rome about 1719, though not published till 1888.

The name "Diatessaron" is now usually accepted as meaning a "Harmony of the Four Gospels" and an examination of the work shows that the four gospels, 'Matthew,' 'Mark,' 'Luke' and 'John,' have been interwoven so as to furnish one continuous story. The opening paragraphs read thus — "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word itself is God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him not even one existing thing has been made. In him was life, and the life is the light of men. And the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness overcame it not. [So far the Harmonist follows the Fourth Gospel, he now breaks off to the Third] "There was in the days of Herod the King a certain priest named Zacharias, of the family of Abijah and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron and her name was Elizabeth," etc. In this manner Tatian proceeds through the whole biography of Jesus down to the Resurrection and Ascension, and concluding with the verse from the [added] last chapter of 'John.' And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written one by one, according to my opinion even the world itself would not contain the books that must be written. An inspection of the early portion of the Diatessaron bears out the accusation of Theodoret: the Harmonist has omitted all notice of the pedigree of Jesus. The inclusion of the Fourth Gospel in this Harmony testifies to the respect with which Tatian himself and presumably other Christians regarded the latest of the gospels now reckoned canonical. The exact date of the Diatessaron is unknown: we must simply bear in mind that Tatian wrote between 150 and 180. It should further be observed that the Arabic copy is a revised version of the original and some scholars allege that Tatian based his compilation on a yet older harmony. There is reason to believe that the original Diatessaron contained incidents and speeches which were subsequently allowed to drop out of the copies such as "Be ye approved money-changers" the blind man begging the Lord. Open

searcher into our inmost fibres, our constant observer, our inspirable witness, a reprover of our evil actions, an approver of our good ones, if he is becomingly attended to sedulously examined and devoutly worshipped in the way in which he was worshipped by Socrates in justice and in innocence, he is our forewarner in uncertainty, our monitor in matters of doubt our defender in danger and our assistant in need. He is able also by dreams and by tokens and perhaps even openly, when necessity demands it, to avert from you evil to increase your blessings to aid you when depressed, to support you when falling to lighten your darkness to regulate your prosperity and modify your adversity.' Apuleius wrote in the time of Marcus Aurelius]*

as red hot irons pierce their eyes, roll upon sharp pebbles, fall from precipices, smite each other with rods, and roast themselves. The sins for which they bear the penalty embrace blasphemy against the way of righteousness, adultery, sodomy, abortion, persecution, false witness, hard heartedness towards widows and orphans, usury, and the service of idols * Critics seem agreed in assigning this Apocalypse to the second century, though its exact chronological position cannot at present be stated. It is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and appears to have been popular in Egypt, Lycia, and Palestine, and it kept a place among the books publicly read in the churches of Palestine till the fifth century. We have already remarked the occurrence of pictures of Orpheus in the Catacombs. In Thrace, Greece, Italy, and Egypt the Orphic mysteries had become wide spread. Crowds of people gazed with anxious interest upon dramatic imitations of the adventures of the soul in the underworld, and its rescue by Orpheus. Orphic disciples, won over to Christianity, would naturally carry with them many of their old eschatological ideas. To such influences may be ascribed the terribly luxuriant description of hell which appals the reader of the Apocalypse of Peter †.

Of the writings of *Dionysius* bishop of Corinth (about 170), only a few vestiges remain in the pages of Eusebius. Several interesting expressions occur in his quoted letters. He thanks the Roman Saints for their generous gifts to needier churches and "subsidies to the brethren who are in the mines." Elsewhere he rebukes persons who had imperintently tampered with his letters, and he denounces them as "apostles of the Devil." Much dispute has raged round a reference by Dionysius to "the scriptures of the Lord." We cannot precisely say what Christian writings he had in mind. ‡

Towards the close of the reign of Marcus Aurelius (perhaps in 176 or 177) yet another apology was presented

* "Lectures on the Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter" by J. A. Polinson and M. R. James.

† The relation of the Christian hell with Orphic conceptions is fully set forth in A. Deichs's *Nykya. Beitrag zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*.

‡ Donaldson's *History of Christian Literature*, 11., Concise "Gospel Criticism," chapter II.

to the pagan public by *Athenagoras*, known as the Christian Philosopher of Athens. A certain ease and modernity render his essay agreeable reading. He never mentions Jesus or Christ, and quotes no book of the New Testament by name, nor does he show any appreciation of the doctrine of atonement. At the outset of his plea he complains that, while toleration is accorded to Greeks and Egyptians "for us who are called Christians you [Marcus Aurelius and Commodus] have not in like manner cared, but although we commit no wrong—nay, as will appear in the sequel of this discourse, are of all men most piously and righteously disposed towards the deity and towards your government—you allow us to be harassed, plundered, and persecuted the multitude making war upon us for our name alone." Athenagoras repels the charge of atheism. To us who distinguish God from matter, and teach that matter is one thing and God another and that they are separated by a wide interval (for that the deity is uncreated and eternal to be beheld by the understanding and reason alone, while matter is created and perishable) is it not absurd to apply the name of atheists? Even the poets and philosophers have recognised the unity of God, and were not called atheists because they ignored the popular polytheism. Athenagoras quotes from the Hebrew prophets (whom he artistically depicts as flutes through which the divine Spirit breathed) to show their devout faith in the supreme God. The Logos Son is the energising force of the universe, the Holy Spirit is 'an affluence of God flowing from him and returning back again like a beam of the sun. Christians do not offer sacrifices, because the Father of the Universe needs neither blood nor incense nor will they worship nature—if therefore the world is an instrument in tune, and moving in well measured time, I adore the Being who gave its harmony and strikes its notes and sings the accordant strain and not the instrument. I or at the musical contests the adjudicators do not pass by the lute players and crown the lutes. The popular gods are children of yet other gods they are imperfect they have vices, they simply reflect the limitations of man. As to accusations brought against the Christians of lewd feasts and banquets of child flesh Athenagoras with much dignity appeals for inquiry and proof. The Christians maintain pure marriage,

and abhor a second wedlock, many of them abjure marriage "in the hope of living in closer communion with God;" they detest pederastia, they hate the gladiatorial spectacles, they condemn abortion, or exposure of infants. Their very kisses are chaste [and here Athenagoras quotes from an unknown source] "for the Logos says to us 'If anyone kiss a second time because it has given him pleasure, he sins;' adding, 'Therefore the kiss, or rather the salutation, should be given with the greatest care, since, if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life.'" From gospel teaching such as the Synoptics contain Athenagoras cites a few sayings—e.g., 'If you love them that love you, and lend to them that lend to you, what reward will you have? Another treatise by the Philosopher argues the question of the Resurrection in a dispassionate and lucid style, which singularly reminds one of the calm ratiocination of our latter day Bishop Butler. The whole argument proceeds on general Theistic grounds and ignores Christianity, except in such casual allusions as that to "the apostles" [Paul's] language, "This corruptible must put on incorruption."*

While Athenagoras was composing his able apology, a very different production was being published in Gaul (177 or 178). Pagan mobs had violently set upon the Christians at Vienne and Lyons. In his History of the Church Eusebius has preserved considerable extracts from a letter written in the name of the Christian societies at "Vienna and Lugdunum" to 'the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia. These latter regions were excited by the Montanist movement, for which the Gallic Christians appear to have felt no little sympathy, and they address the Phrygians as disciples 'who have the same faith and hope of redemption as ourselves'. If the letter is the genuine production of a Gallic Christian, contemporary with the events narrated, we must at least allow for a measure of enraptured exaggeration of the scenes of martyrdom. The writer states that it will had been brewing for some time. 'Not only were we excluded from houses [of a public kind?], baths, and the

* Translation of the Apology and the essay on Resurrection in vol. II of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Harnack's History of Dogma "vol. II.

forum, but a universal prohibition was laid against any one of us appearing in any place whatsoever. The outbreak began with hootings showers of stones and wild dragging of hapless Christians before the tribunals. Day by day the various leaders of this provincial church were hurried to gaol, amid yells that accused them of the guilt of 'Thyestæan banquets and Œdipodean connections [such as Athenagoras so emphatically denied]. The tortures borne by the unresisting victims are vividly portrayed. Sanctus a deacon, made one reply to all questions. I am a Christian, and his body was blistered with red hot brass plates. Some died in foul dungeons. Bishop Pothinus upwards of ninety years of age proudly answered the governors question as to who was the God of the Christians. If thou art worthy, thou shalt know. submitted patiently to many blows and expired in prison. Some of the terrified disciples recanted their creed. Attalus in the sight of a crowded amphitheatre was placed in a heated iron chair and the fumes from his body were borne aloft. Alexander a Phrygian physician stood in court at the trial of some of the accused and encouraged the faltering prisoners by his gestures. He too was arrested confessed his Christian faith and succumbed to the claws of wild beasts and the agony of the iron chair. The most eminent figure in the story is that of the young slave girl Blandina. Blandina was hung up fastened to a stake, and exposed as food to the wild beasts that were let loose against her and through her presenting the spectacle of something like a cross and through her earnest prayers she inspired the combatants [her fellow martyrs] with great eagerness. When none of the wild beasts at that time touched her she was taken down from the stake and conveyed back to prison. Though she was an insignificant weak and despoiled woman yet she was clothed with the great and invincible athlete Christ. Her brother Ponticus a lad of fifteen endured torture and died. Blandina yielded up her spirit after the pains of scourging exposure to beasts roasting in the iron chair and tossing by a bull. The carcasses and ashes of the martyrs lay unburied and insulted for six days, and then were burned and cast into the river Rhone amid mocking shouts of "Now let us see if they will rise again." The survivors bestowed on the dead Saints the title of Witnesses. It is difficult to sift

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* Donaldson's History of Christian Literature gives the chief portions of the letter.

† Renan's *Marc Aurèle* chapter xx.

‡ *Supernatural Religion* vol. II. chapter ix.

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* Donaldson's "History of Christian Literature," vol. III., chapter XL.

philus smiles at the fancies of polytheism, at the numerous Jupiters, one of whom, "who is king of the Cretans, has a tomb in Crete, but the rest, possibly, were not thought worthy of tombs." Autolycus, in his turn, has laughed at the very name of Christians. Theophilus replies that the Christian is the anointed and useful (*Chrestos*), both men and vessels are the better for an effusion of oil. While the Greek poets and fabulists were inspired by dæmons, Moses and the Jewish prophets were carriers of a holy spirit which nerved them to the delivery of God's message. An elaborate account of the Six-days Creation and the primitive records of Genesis leads up to a quotation from the Sibylline books the writer, with much simplicity, supposing that the Sibyl "was a prophetess among the Greeks and the other nations." Theophilus identifies the voice of God in the Garden of Eden with the Logos, and he remarks "The holy writings teach us, and all the spirit bearing men, one of whom, John says, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God"—this being the earliest known attribution of the Fourth Gospel to John. Spurning the pagan taunts that the Christians encouraged promiscuity, incest, and child eating, Theophilus mocks at the unholy deeds of the classical gods and goddesses, and sketches the mild virtues of the Christian communities—their humanity, just dealing chastity, love to enemies, respect for law. "Truth governs, grace guards peace screens them, the holy Word guides wisdom teaches, life directs God reigns." The third essay winds up with minute calculations by which Theophilus hopes to prove the desperate inferiority of the Greek to the Hebrew and Christian chronology. And he concludes that until the death of the Emperor Verus, "all the years from the creation of the world amount to a total of 5,698 years, and the odd months and days."

Miltiades of Athens added to the swarm of Apologies which testified to the aggressive confidence of the Christians, but his work has disappeared. *Hermias* sneered at the inanities and incongruities of pagan speculation in his "Satire on the Heathen Philosophers." Starting with a

* Translation of the three letters in vol. iii. of the "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," Donaldson's "History of Christian Literature." vol. iii.

passage from Paul, "The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God," he smites gaily at the theories of the sages, and thus flippantly derides their contradictions. "I confess I am vexed by the reflux of things. For now I am immortal, and I rejoice, but now again I become mortal, and I weep, but straightway I am dissolved into atoms, I become water, I become air, I become fire, then after a little I am neither air nor fire, one makes me a wild beast, one makes me a fish. Again, then, I have dolphins for my brothers. But when I see myself, I fear my body, and I no longer know how to call it, whether man, or dog, or wolf, or bull, or bird, or serpent, or dragon, or chimæra. I am changed by the philosophers into all the wild beasts, into those that live on land and on water, into those that are winged, many-shaped, wild, tame, speechless and gifted with speech, rational and irrational. I swim, fly, creep, run, sit, and there is Lmpedocles too, who makes me a bush! *

Some time between 177 and 193 *Hegesippus* composed five books of "Memoranda," of which, unhappily, only a few brief citations lie scattered in the pages of Eusebius. He was born in Palestine, of Jewish parents, and travelled to Rome by way of Corinth, visiting Christian societies on the way. The chief fragment of *Hegesippus* relates to the apostle James. We have previously quoted (p. 12) the curious description of James the Nazarite, who, clad in linen, knelt in the Temple till his knees assumed a thickness such as one sees in camels. He was, says *Hegesippus*, always asking forgiveness for the people. "On account then of his exceeding righteousness he was called Righteous and Oblias—that is, bulwark of the people and righteousness, as the prophets make manifest with regard to him. Some of the seven sects that were in the people which have been already described by me [*Hegesippus*] in my Recollections, asked him, What is the gate of Jesus? And he said that he [Jesus] was the Saviour. In consequence of this some of them believed that Jesus was the Christ. *Hegesippus* goes on to tell how the Scribes and Pharisees, alarmed at the growth of the Jesus enthusiasm among the people, begged James to use his influence to keep them loyal to the

* Kurtz's *History*, vol. 1, section 30. Donaldson's *History of Christian Literature*, vol. iii.

Law But James answered "Why do you ask me with regard to Jesus, the Son of Man? Yea, that person sits in heaven on the right hand of the great Power, and is to come upon the clouds of heaven" The rulers cried in angry astonishment, "Oh, oh! even the Just has gone astray Let us stone James the Just" They flung stones at him, and the last fatal blow was struck by a fuller's club Some time after the death of James, according to another fragment, the purity of the Church commenced to decline—"Thebuthis began to corrupt it secretly because he was not made an overseer" Various sectarian leaders sprang up—"Simon, whence the Simonians, Cleobius, whence the Cleobians Dosithreus, whence the Dositheans, Gorthæus whence the Gorthæans, Masbothelus, whence the Masbotheans After these came the Menandrians, and Marcionites, and Carpocratians, and Valentinians, and Basilidians, and Saturnilians They introduced each one his own opinion separately, and differently After these came false Christs, false prophets, false apostles, who divided the unity of the Church with corrupt doctrines against God and his Christ." A third fragment recounts an anecdote of two poor men who were summoned before the emperor Domitian as being possible claimants to the throne of Judæa, for they were "grandsons of that Judas who was called the brother of the Lord according to the flesh" The two peasants pleaded that their whole property consisted in a small plot of land, they displayed their hands, all knotted with toil, in proof of their industry, and they explained that the kingdom which they looked for was celestial, and not earthly Domitian set them free. A fourth fragment gives a few details of the torture and crucifixion of Simeon the son of Cleopas, at the age of 120, in the reign of Trajan A fifth fragment enumerates these seven Jewish sects—"Essenes Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbotheans, Samaritans, Sadducees and Pharisees"*

Probably to the second half of the second century belongs an Apology which pleases the ear with a gentler tone than that of the sarcastic Tatian or jaunty Hermias. This is the *Epistle to Diognetus* by an author unknown The initial sentences are Since I see, most excellent Diognetus, that

* Donaldson's "History of Christian Literature," vol. III

thou art exceedingly anxious to understand the religion of the Christians, and that thy inquiries respecting them are distinctly and carefully made, as to what God they trust and how they worship him, that they all disregard the world and despise death, and take no account of those who are regarded as gods by the Greeks neither observe the superstition of the Jews, and as to the nature of the affection they entertain one to another, and of this new development or interest, which has entered into men's lives now and not before I gladly welcome this zeal," etc. The writer reproves the worship of gods made of wood or iron—"are they not soulless senseless, motionless?" Somewhat uncharitably he blames the "fussiness and pride" of the Jews in their regard for sabbaths, festivals, and ritual in the taking of food. Then, with mingled pathos and elation, he describes the expansion of the Christian genus, its courageous self-assertion its patient suffering [The passage has been quoted in an earlier section, p. 210] The secret of Christian progress lies in this, that the Invisible God founded the religion by sending to the world "not a subaltern, or angel, or ruler, or one of those that direct the affairs of earth, or one of those who have been entrusted with the dispensations in heaven, but the very Artificer and Creator of the Universe himself, by whom he made the heavens by whom he enclosed the sea in its proper bounds, whose mysteries all the elements faithfully observe—whom the sun moon stars, and all the infinitudes of the cosmos obey." "He sent him as sending God, he sent him as a man unto men he sent him as Saviour, as using persuasion not force for force is no attribute of God." For a time God had revealed the scheme of redemption "to his Son alone and meanwhile seemed to treat mankind with neglect and indifference. But the unfolding of the plan manifested the divine kindness. "He parted with his own Son as a ransom for us, the holy for the lawless, the guileless for the evil, the just for the unjust." The writer gives himself up to rapture at the thought "O the sweet exchange! O the inscrutable creation! O the unexpected benefits! That the iniquity of many should be concealed in one Righteous Man, and the righteousness of One should justify many that are iniquitous. And since he has sent 'his only begotten Son' to man man is called upon to show gratitude, to love God, to imitate God, and

develop in the heavenly life. The epistle is incomplete, and the text closes with a broken sentence. But a document by another hand, and in another style, has been attached (chapters xi and xii). This appendix glorifies the Son Logos, and finishes with an aspiration after Paradise and the trees of life and knowledge—"whereof if thou bear the tree and pluck the fruit, thou shalt ever gather the harvest which God looks for, which serpent touches not, nor deceit infects, neither is Eve corrupted, but is believed on as a virgin, and salvation is set forth, and the apostles are filled with understanding, and the passover of the Lord goes forward, and the congregations are gathered together, and all things are arranged in order, and as he [the Lord] teaches the Saints the Logos is gladdened, through whom the Father is glorified, to whom be glory for ever and ever Amen."*

Towards the termination of the second century *Heracleon* of Alexandria, a disciple of the Gnostic *Valentinus* (p. 226), wrote a commentary on the Fourth Gospel, but the book is lost. *Ptolemæus*, another follower of *Valentinus*, taught, like *Heracleon*, at Rome. An essay of his, entitled the Epistle to *Flora*, is extant. The lady *Flora* was perplexed by the problem, From whom originated the Mosaic Law? and *Ptolemæus* undertakes to clear up her doubts. The Law, being imperfect, could not have emanated from the perfect God, nor, since it regulates conduct, could it have proceeded from the lawless Adversary of God. Not from one source alone did the Law flow, some of its precepts are due to God, some to *Moses*, some to the elders of Israel. *Flora* may see for herself in the remarks of the Saviour [*Ptolemæus* does not say *Jesus*] concerning divorce that he did not highly esteem the commandment of *Moses*. Of the truly divine precepts there are three classes: the first are moral ordinances of which the Saviour desires the fulfilment, the second are tainted with unrighteousness, and the Saviour has abolished them, the third rank as symbols and shadows of spiritual realities. To the first class belongs the Decalogue, to the second, the permission

* Text in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*. Kurtz's "History" vol. i., section 30. Dräseke assigns the Epistle to the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*.

to take vengeance, to the third, the sacrifices and circumcision, and the sabbath the sabbath for example, foreshadowed the religion in which the disciples would rest, not from labour, but from evil works. Neither God nor the Devil, then, created the Law, it was the achievement of the subordinate deity whom Ptolemæus names the Middle One [Demiurge]. God is light, the Devil is darkness, the Middle One is inferior, and he is begotten, but yet he is in the image of the Highest. In the course of the letter several gospel sayings occur, such as "Every house or city divided against itself shall not stand, 'Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, but I say unto you Resist not him that is evil, but if any smite you on the right cheek, turn to him the other," but the passages do not strictly follow the Greek of the canonical gospels *.

We have already made acquaintance with the Alogoi: who would not accept the authority of the Fourth Gospel, and would not submit to the doctrine of the Logos and many disputes were destined to arise over the question of the nature of the Logos and the relation of Jesus to the Father. In Rome about 190, a tanner named *Theodotus* expounded his new conception of Christ. Jesus he maintained, was not at birth a divine person, he was indeed born of a virgin, but not until he had proved his worth by a good life, and plunged into the water of baptism did he receive celestial powers. Jesus, therefore, was not a separate divine being, the Father being the only God or Monarch. Thus these Monarchians strenuously pleaded for the unity of God as against the idea that the Godhead was split into the two persons Father and Son. For promulgating such teachings *Theodotus* was cast out of the church by the bishop Victor, notwithstanding the fact that he accepted the Fourth Gospel. Passion for dogmas and nice theological distinctions was rising among the Christian societies. Against the Monarchian school some years later the renowned Tertullian hurled his controversial darts. Contemporary with *Theodotus* was *Praxeas*. He derived his speculative mind from Asia Minor, that centre of Montanism and many other notable

* Kurtz's 'History' vol. 1 section 27 article Ptolemæus in Dictionary of Christian Biography Supernatural Religion vol. 1

religious forces. He, too strove to spread that kind of monotheism which insisted on the supremacy of God the Father while allowing the possession of divine afflatus to Jesus the Son. One God animated both persons, one God, consequently, inspired Jesus, and one God suffered the crucifixion pangs. Hence the adherents of this form of Christian theology were named the Patristians, or believers in a suffering Father. They further argued that the Logos should not be regarded as a person, a subordinate, a secondary prince, there was but one divinity engaged in the redeeming work, and if men spoke of the Logos, the term should merely signify the divine voice or speech. Upon Praxeas followed Noetus of Smyrna. Boldly launching into pantheistic thought Noetus conceived the universe to be first, invisible in the Father, and then to be manifested in the Son. All phenomena were materialisations of God's essence, they were truly one with it, the Son was one with the Father. Such conceptions and counter conceptions fermented vigorously in Christian minds, and prepared the occasions for many a heated altercation and many a fierce schism in the succeeding centuries.*

Almost with reluctance we approach the eagerly-debated *Ignatian Epistles*. In an account of Christian literature which attempts to keep to the chronological road much difficulty is experienced in determining the order in time of these mysterious documents. Were they composed by Ignatius on his way to martyrdom in Rome? If so, when? Are they forgeries? Even then, to what date do they appertain? At the outset we are hampered by want of information as to the year and locality of the death of Ignatius. Some say Antioch, some Rome, some assign the date 107, some 110-118 some about 130. Of fifteen epistles called Ignatian no scholar now claims genuineness for more than seven. These are the letters to the Saints of Magnesia Tralles Philadelphia, Smyrna (cities of western Asia Minor) to Polycarp to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. A Syriac manuscript of the three last epistles just enumerated was translated and published by Dr Cureton in 1845. Greek and Latin texts also survive. Critics differ as

* Kurtz's History vol. 1 section 33 Baur's Church History "art. cle Monarchians in McClintock's Cyclopaedia.

to whether the brief Syriac copy is more ancient than the Greek. According to the epistles themselves, Ignatius is being carried captive by ten Roman soldiers to Rome, there to die as a Christian. On the way, however, the disciples swarm the roads, and collect at favourable points to bless the martyr and receive his counsel, and he, in turn, has leisure and freedom to send out his correspondence to various Christian churches that lie about his route to the imperial city. We may now glance at these letters in order.

(1) To the Magnesians. After greeting his friends and referring to the deputation which had waited upon him at Smyrna, he exhorts them to give due obedience to their youthful episkopos (he who cheats a bishop cheats the invisible Bishop of all, "be united with the bishop," "your revered bishop," "be obedient to the bishop," etc.), to cultivate unity of spirit, and to avoid the "antiquated fables" of the Hebrews, for "it is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism." (2) To the Trallians. He commends their pious consistency, and begs them to "do nothing without the bishop." "The bishop is a type of the Father," the presbyters resemble the council of God and the college of the Apostles. In a short digression he speaks of himself and his own situation. "I have many deep thoughts in God, but I take the measure of myself, lest I perish in my boasting. Am I not able to write to you of heavenly things? But I fear lest I should cause you harm, being babes. So bear with me lest, not being able to take them in, you should be choked." He then implores them to abstain from "strange herbage, which is heresy," to conform with the wishes of the bishop and presbytery and deacons, and to remain faithful branches of the cross of Jesus—that Jesus who was the Son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, who was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, who was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and those on earth and those under the earth; who moreover, was truly raised from the dead, his Father having raised him." (3) To the Philadelphians. Again he admonishes the people to respect their bishop to shun the "noxious herbs" of unsound doctrine. They must observe one eucharist, one altar. He rebukes the conceit of certain Christians who, in response to his grave

remark, "It is written," irreverently objected, "That is the question" (4) To the Smyrnæans Having recited the main facts of the Christian creed, he bids the Saints bravely endure suffering, "Near to the sword, near to God, in company with wild beasts, in company with God' Evil men neglect the widow and orphan, the hungry and thirsty, the true disciples should shun such men, and "give heed to the prophets, and especially to the gospel' And once again, "It is good to recognise God and the bishop In this epistle occurs the expression, "the Catholic Church" (5) To Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna In terse, forcible sentences advice is given to the overseer of the church, he is to care for union, to ask for larger wisdom, to be sober as God's athlete, to stand firm as a smitten anvil, not to despise slaves, whether men or women Somewhat incongruously the writer continues "Give heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you," as if addressing the congregation rather than Polycarp Inspiringly he bids the disciples "toil together, run together, suffer together please the Captain in whose army you serve your baptism a shield, your faith a helmet, your love a spear, your patience as your armour' (6) To the Ephesians A number of passages suggest imitations of the style of Paul—e.g., "I do not command you, as though I were somewhat For even though I am in bonds for the Name's sake, I am not yet perfected in Jesus Christ Now am I beginning to be a disciple, and I speak to you as to my schoolfellows" Presently he touches the ever recurrent theme "Be careful not to resist the bishop' Frequent meetings should be held But mere meeting and mere profession signify but vanity—"It is better to keep silence and to be than to talk and not to be, it is a fine thing to teach—if the speaker practise.' Unusual statements occur in a summary of Christ's work—"He was born and was baptised that by his passion he might cleanse water And hidden from the prince of the world were the virginity of Mary, and her child bearing, and likewise the death of the Lord.' (7) To the Romans The strain sounded in this letter rises higher than in the preceding No deprecation of inattention to episcopal orders lowers the tone. We have here the song of the martyr—exaggerated, ecstatic, half-delirious, but vivid, strong, and unconventional "From Syria even unto

Rome I fight with wild beasts, by land and sea, by night and by day, being bound amidst ten leopards, even a company of soldiers, who only wax worse when they are kindly treated' He beseeches the Romans not to dissuade him from the final scene "Let me be given to the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread Come fire and cross and grapplings with wild beasts, wrenching of bones, hacking of limbs crushings of my whole body, come cruel tortures of the Devil! The pangs of a new birth are upon me. Bear with me, brethren Do not hinder me from living Do not desire my death Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God' Assuredly this letter to the Romans reaches a poetic distinction far above the associated epistles Nevertheless, one doubts if a prisoner under Roman watch and sentence of doom would pen so blithe a hymn to death With regard to the other six letters, the reader will judge if the narrow ecclesiasticism which harps on the reverence owing to church-officers would characterise a Christian martyr on the way to the stake or the fatal theatre This nervous and querulous spirit rather betrays an official mind disturbed by such problems of government as would arise in the churches of the third century or the end of the second It should be noted that the evangelistic phrases repeated in these epistles do not run parallel, word for word with the Greek of the received Four Gospels *

Irenæus, a native of Asia Minor, succeeded the aged Pothinus in the bishopric of the much troubled church of Lyons in Gaul He died in the early years of the third century Irenæus fought against the Gnostic system, and sketched out the broad lines of a creed which found its basis in the Hebrew scriptures and certain selected writings now becoming canonical, and which constituted a victorious Christian orthodoxy He did not complete the work, but he arranged a mass of theological ideas for which Tertullian and other writers afterwards fashioned dogmatic formulæ

* * Supernatural Religion, vol. 1. text of the letters in Lightfoot's "Apostolic Fathers" translation of Syriac version in W Cureton's "Corpus Ignatianum" Cone's "Gospel Criticism" chapter 11, Kurtz's "History," vol. 1, section 30.

Putting aside a series of fragments from works now lost, we shall examine the chief production of Irenæus. The original Greek has vanished, but we possess the book in a Latin translation. The title is "A Refutation and Subversion of the Gnosis falsely so-called," but it is commonly described by the shorter title, *Against Heresies*. It extends through five sections or books.

The essayist loses no time in developing his attack upon the Gnostics who have irritated him by preaching their doctrines among the Kelts of Lyons. "Lest, therefore, through my neglect, some should be carried off, even as sheep are by wolves, while they perceive not the true character of these men—because they outwardly are covered with sheep's clothing (against whom the Lord has enjoined us to be on our guard), and because their language resembles ours, while their sentiments are very different—I have deemed it my duty (after reading some of the Commentaries, as they call them, of Valentinus, and after making myself acquainted with their tenets through personal intercourse with some of them) to unfold to thee these portentous and profound mysteries, which do not fall within the range of every intellect, because all have not sufficiently purged their brains [an ironical reference to the Gnostic system]. I do this in order that thou obtaining an acquaintance with these things, mayest in turn explain them to all those with whom thou art connected, and exhort them to avoid such an abyss of madness and of blasphemy against Christ." A series of chapters furnish details of the history of the Lyons, as set forth by the school of Valentinus. That any good motive could have prompted the Gnostics in their weird speculations never occurs to Irenæus. He pauses to express his amused horror of their perverted interpretations of Scripture (e.g., the parable of the leaven hid in three measure of flour signifies the mission of Christ to three classes of men—spiritual, animal, and material), and he flatly accuses his Gnostic opponents of loose living—he has seen them at the amphitheatre, at pagan festivals, eating unholy meats, and he hints that they do not scruple to seduce women. On the other hand, the Church, "though dispersed throughout the whole world" maintains a simple creed which declares belief in a Creator, in "Christ Jesus the Son of

God, who became incarnate for our salvation," and in the Holy Spirit, who, through the prophetic voices, foretold the virgin birth, the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Jesus. And, says Irenæus, "the churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those which are established in the central region of the world." Scornfully, without the least tinge of sympathy, and, as one suspects, with unnecessary complication, Irenæus exposes the whimsical tenets of *Marcus*, a religious agitator who had preached among the populations in the Rhone valley, and won over many rich women. Irenæus gives us tableaux of the mummeries of *Marcus*—a sacrament in which consecrated wine is handed round to the ignorant devotees, initiations in which the new disciples are placed on "nuptial couches" while incantations are muttered, or are baptised with the formula, "Into the name of the Unknown Father of the Universe, into Truth, the mother of all things, into him who descended on Jesus, into union, and redemption, and communion with the Powers." Initiates are anointed with balsam, or with oil and water. In the course of an account by no means lucid, of the line of Gnostics from Simon Magus onwards, Irenæus notices the belief in a spiritual Christ who descended into the earthly Jesus at the commencement of his mission, this Christ leaving the body of Jesus just before the fatal crucifixion. Jesus, however, rose from the dead through the divine energy of Christ. The second Book deals in a tedious and commonplace style with the Gnostic theories of creation and of the destiny of the soul. If, as seems likely, the disputants of the end of the second century were in the habit of spending hours and days in argument touching the character of the Demiurge and the adventures of the *Æons*, one must lament that religious zeal vented itself in so barren an activity. It is in this Book that Irenæus propounds the peculiar opinion that Jesus lived till near the age of fifty. Of course polemic could not continue without appeal to authority, and Irenæus expresses disdain for the Gnostics who, like 'slippery serpents,' first quoted scripture, and then fell back on tradition, and then wriggled off into a claim to personal inspiration. Irenæus

votes for both scripture and tradition, and he enumerates the bishops who ruled the Roman Church from Apostolic times—Linus, Anacletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, the Church itself having been founded by "the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul." The author has his own heritage of tradition, for he saw in early youth the veteran Polycarp who had 'conversed with many who had seen Christ.' Proceeding to discuss the original Christian doctrine of God, he makes a very lame reply to the Gnostics who found an allusion to the Demiurge in Paul's words, "The God of this world has blinded the minds of unbelievers and he interprets them to mean, "God has blinded the minds of the unbelievers of this world." His reliance on the gospels of "Matthew," "Mark," "Luke," and "John" (for he names them all explicitly) he justifies by the argument that 'It is not possible that the Gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are. For, since there are four zones of the world in which we live, and four principal words, while the Church is scattered throughout all the world, and the pillar and ground of the Church is the gospel and the spirit of life, it is fitting that she should have four pillars, breathing out immortality on every side—the cherubim, too, were four faced—and the gospel is quadiform—these things being so all who destroy the form of the gospel are vain unlearned, and also audacious." Thus fortified, Irenæus goes on to adduce proofs that Jesus was God, and that he was the son of a virgin, and he alleges that Daniel's wonderful stone, 'cut without hands, foreshadowed the miraculous birth of Christ. Then he passes to the question of Adam's salvation, and he takes occasion to pour out scorn upon Tatian, who thought that Adam's soul had perished. 'False is that man who first started this idea or rather, this ignorance and blindness—Tatian. The Fourth Book argues for the unity of God, the prediction of the Christian era by the Hebrew prophets, the temporary character of the Mosaic law, the identity of God's purpose in "both Testaments, and the freedom of the will. The fifth Book enters upon the problem of resurrection of the body—a doctrine which Irenæus maintains (as he maintains everything in his creed) by copious reference to holy writ—

Ezekiel called the dry bones to live therefore God will resuscitate the dead etc. After digressions on the Fall of Man (here for once Irenæus ventures upon epigram—"as the human race fell into bondage to death by means of a virgin so it is rescued by a virgin, virgin disobedience having been balanced in the opposite scale by virgin obedience) and the coming of Antichrist the writer returns to the subject of the resurrection and the future life—"as the presbyters say, Then those who are deemed worthy of an abode in heaven shall go there others shall enjoy the delight of paradise and others shall possess the splendour of the city. And thus Irenæus closes a work which is almost insufferably dull, which never rises to pathos which betrays no humanitarian enthusiasm and which applies itself to no important moral issues.*

Concerning *Pantænus* statements can only be made with doubt. He is said to have enjoyed a philosophic training to have risen to the headship of a theological school in Alexandria, and to have journeyed in the character of Christian missionary as far as India. There, asserts tradition he found a Hebrew copy of the gospel of Matthew left among the Hindus by Bartholomew. He lived on into the early years of the third century †

Among the pupils of Pantænus was the celebrated *Clement of Alexandria*. Born perhaps in Athens he travelled from one religious centre to another until he settled in Alexandria, in which city he succeeded Pantænus at the Catechetical School. In 203 when persecution darkened the Christian prospect Clement left Alexandria. He may have died about 220. Of his works (all written in Greek) the chief are *The Address to the Greeks*, *The Instructor* and *The Miscellanæ* or *Patchwork*. ‡

Clement's rich and prismatic diction affords a welcome relief to the poverty of Irenæus. Our eyes no sooner fall on the first page of the *Address* than we detect the presence of fine imaginative power. Clement is praying the Greeks to relinquish the old polytheism in favour of the new faith

* Kurtz's *History* vol. 1 section 31 and the treatise *Against Heresies* in vols. v and x of *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.

† *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

‡ *Ibid*.

of Jesus "Let us bring from above out of heaven Truth, with Wisdom in all its brightness, and the sacred prophetic choir, down to the holy mount of God, and let Truth darting her light to the most distant points, cast her rays all around on those that are involved in darkness, and deliver men from delusion, stretching out her very strong right hand, which is Wisdom, for their salvation. And raising their eyes, and looking above, let them abandon Mount Helicon and Cithæron, and take up their abode in Sion" The Christian Saviour is not a pious novelty. He is the *Creative and Eternal Word*, who in these latter days, comes to men as the New Song. Clement audaciously twits the Greeks with the solemn foolery of the Eleusinian and other mysteries. He has peeped into the baskets carried in the sacred processions, he has desecrated the cakes the salt the snake, the pomegranates the poppy-seeds, the gross phallic symbols. He aims many a quivering shaft at the lustful gods and goddesses of Olympus. Greek art and the Greek stage receive stern judgment. "The nuptials of the deities, their begetting and bringing forth of children that are recounted, their adulteries celebrated in song their carousals represented in comedy and bursts of laughter over their cups, which your authors introduce, urge me to cry out, though I would fain be silent. Oh the godlessness! You have turned heaven into a stage, the Divine has become a drama." Certainly the Greek philosophers have sometimes caught glimpses of God's unity and the poets have uttered testimonies to the supremacy of him who 'made both heaven and the far-stretching earth, and ocean's blue wave, and the mighty winds. But the complete truth issues from Hebrew prophecy (Clement often quotes the Sibylline poems in such connections) and from Christian revelation. *Let the Athenian follow the laws of Solon and the Argive those of Phoroneus, and the Spartan those of Lycurgus, but if thou enrol thyself as one of God's people, heaven is thy country God thy lawgiver, and the laws forbid murder, adultery, theft, false witness and they enjoin love of one's neighbour and amenity towards enemies. Christ invites, he has blown the trumpet of the gospel and his armies, the "soldiers of peace," assemble with joy. Or, to change the figure, let us imagine that mankind are summoned to the new Mysteries. 'My way is lighted with*

unhallowed shams and specious delights the Christian disciple will tread the way of purity, modestly dressed guiltless of any but the simplest jewellery (Clement permits signet rings engraved with the pious emblems of the dove fish-ship anchor, etc.), the skin free from cosmetics the hair worn naturally (the men should shave the head 'unless it has curly hair, but let the chin have the hair') the step grave and leisurely, and games of dice and the gladiatorial shows will be shunned. On the way to the Christian meeting the disciples should go silent and with dignified deportment the women all being strictly veiled. Their conduct after quitting the assembly must harmonise with the spirituality of the function just attended. Clement roundly chides the thoughtless disciples who after apparently devout conduct in the Christian service go out to join in pagan entertainments — 'Ourselves they foolishly amuse themselves with impious playing and amatory quavering flute fingering dancing and intoxication and all kinds of trash. They who sing thus and sing in response are those who before hymned immortality and are found wickedly singing this most pernicious palinode. Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die.' A hymn appended to this treatise (perhaps Clement's composition) praises Christ in a series of ejaculatory epithets — Bridle of untamed colts. Wing of wandering birds. sure Helm of babes. Shepherd of royal lambs. assemble thy simple children to praise holily to hymn guilelessly with innocent mouths. Christ the guide of children. O King of Saints etc.

The *Miscellaneous* (Stromata) exhibit Clement as the Christian scholar gratefully accepting the aid of human culture and philosophy in his search for truth. By philosophy he remarks 'I do not mean the Stoic, or the Platonic or the Epicurean or the Aristotelian but whatever has been well said by each of those sects which teach righteousness along with a science pervaded by piety — this eclectic whole I call philosophy.' And we find him quoting with equal appreciation from the Bible or from 'truth-loving Plato.' All earnest schools of thought are, in his opinion, illuminated by the dawn of Light. Even if as some carping Christians would assert the Hellenic and other speculations resemble furtive and illegitimate guesses at truth Clement finely replies 'There is in

They contain doctrines such as these:—The oneness of Christ with Adam; the need of keeping many Mosaic precepts (but with the rejection of sacrifice); vegetarianism; disapproval of celibacy; oath-taking in the name of the Seven Witnesses; etc. In the extant versions the Clementines introduce lengthy discussions between the episodes of a romance, and thus assume the character of a novel with a purpose. The romance centres round the person of Clement, who, in the course of his travels with the apostle Peter, happily encounters his long-lost parents and brothers—their dramatic “recognitions” giving a title to one form of the work. The discussions are carried on by Peter with the magician Simon, and touch on creation, God, idolatry, freewill, dæmons, sin, Christ, future rewards and punishments, baptism, the bishop’s office, etc.]*

Tertullian had read the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, and he did not accept the work as genuine. “If,” he says (“Baptism,” ch. xvii), “the writings which wrongly go under Paul’s name claim Thecla’s example as a licence for woman’s teaching and baptising, let them know that, in Asia, the presbyter who composed that writing (as if he were augmenting Paul’s fame from his own store), after being convicted, and confessing that he had done it from love of Paul, was removed from his office.” The book may have appeared about 180,† but we cannot be sure if the extant version tallies with that known to Tertullian. The first scene of the story shows Paul travelling to Iconium with two men who hypocritically posed as Christians. A saint named Onesiphorus “saw Paul coming, a man small in size, bald-headed, bow-legged, robust, with eyebrows meeting, rather long nosed, full of grace” Paul lodges at the house of Onesiphorus, and, after breaking bread and discoursing of self-control and the resurrection, he utters beatitudes—Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God; blessed are they that control themselves, for God shall speak with them; blessed

* Article on “The Clementine Literature” in “Dictionary of Christian Biography;” the Clementine books are translated in vols. iii. and xvii. of the “Ante-Nicene Christian Library.”

† Salmon’s “Introduction to the New Testament,” ch. xix.

we pay heed to our Emperor [God]" The proconsul mildly expostulates "We too [the pagans] are religious, and our religion is simple, and we swear by the genius of our lord the Emperor, and pray for his welfare, as you also ought to do" The women join in the colloquy Donata allows that honour should be given to Cæsar as Cæsar, but fear to God And Vestia says simply, "I am a Christian" "What are the things in your chest?" asks the proconsul of Speratus The prisoner answers "Books and epistles of Paul a just man" The Christians decline a respite of thirty days, and sentence is passed upon them for refusal to return to "the custom of the Romans" "Thanks be to God," cry the martyrs in chorus "And so they all together were crowned with martyrdom, and they reign with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever" *

As we read the graphic, but not by any means tasteful, anecdotes of Jesus narrated in the *Gospel of Thomas*, we can readily imagine that, in the second and later centuries, such stories passed from mouth to mouth among the slaves, the artizans, and the gossiping women who gathered in work room, harvest field, or club garden We possess a short Greek, and a longer Greek, form, together with a Latin translation This gospel appears to have been known to Hippolytus and Origen† It exhibits Jesus as a boy magician, a juvenile God The short Greek version begins "I, Thomas the Israelite have deemed it necessary to make known to all the brethren of the heathen the great things which our Lord Jesus Christ did in his childhood, when he dwelt in the body in the city of Nazareth, going in the fifth year of his age The stories comprise the following episodes Jesus collects rain water in pools, cleanses them by word of command, and lays a curse upon a lad who breaks the mud dams and lets the water out, so that presently the lad dies,—he makes twelve clay sparrows and gives them life,—he strikes dead a boy who threw a stone at him,—by his display of learning and ingenuity he astonishes the teacher Zacchæus who undertook to explain the rudi-

* Translation in the additional volume (issued 1897) of the "Ante Nicene Christian Library"

† Salmon's "Introduction" ch. xi

men find the way of life he cries when they lapse into the way of sin and death. Abel gleaming with divine glory sits on the throne of judgment with a massive book of evidences before him on a golden table. Souls are arraigned in his presence and the record is examined and the virtues and trespasses are weighed in a balance. [This feature resembles the weighing of the character in the well known Egyptian scene of the Judgment and the *Testament* is believed to have originated in Egypt.] Enoch is the scribe who records the moral value of each soul. Abraham returns home and still he fears to die. By God's command the spirit of Death sits the patriarch. Death cold and beautiful accosts him. Hail holy soul! hail friend of the Lord God! hail consolation and entertainment of travellers. Abraham tremblingly bids him welcome and inquires. Art thou indeed he that is called Death? I am the bitter name" answers the apparition and he transforms his shape and shows two fatal heads one of which is like an asp and the other is like a ghastly sword and many of Abraham's servants express straight way but are revived at the petition of their master. The spirit resumes his gentler form and tells Abraham how seventy two modes of death are prepared for man. Through fire through falls from great precipices through wars through roaring floods through the surges of the ocean through lightning and asps and basilisks and leopards and lions and bears and through the numbing poison-cup men make exits from the world and Death conveys them to the bottom of Hades. And still Abraham hesitates. Isaac and Sarah and men servants and maids gather round his couch. Come says Death take my right hand and may cheerfulness and life and strength come to thee. And as the old Hebrew clasps the mystic hand his soul passes and the angels receive it and bear it while they sing the hymn of Thrice Holy to the presence of the God and Father. The divine voice bids them take Abraham to Paradise here there is no trouble nor grief nor sorrow but peace and rejoicing and life unending. A Christian writer has added*. Let us too my beloved brethren imitate the hospitality of the patriarch Abraham

* The versions printed in the Ancient Christian Volume (additional volume)

history in Jerusalem and with an ascription of praise to Jesus Christ*.

A Greek book, entitled *The Testament of Abraham* derives its legendary material from the earliest Christian times, it perhaps came out in the second century but may have received new touches from later hands. It is essentially a Jewish production with a few Christian interpolations. Abraham having reached the age of 99, sits under the oak of Mamre. To him comes the chief captain of the angels, Michael with a warning of approaching death. As they walk and converse, Abraham hears a cypress tree singing, "Holy art thou because thou hast kept the purpose for which thou wast sent. Isaac brings water and Abraham washes Michael's feet, and weeps to think he shall never more perform this rite of hospitality. In sympathy the angel also weeps and his tears fall as precious stones. Supper is eaten and then Michael ascends to heaven without having delivered the message, for he has pitied the old patriarch. God, therefore, resolves to reveal the coming event in a dream to Isaac. Again Michael visits Abraham and stays over night. Isaac wakes from a dream in which he has beheld a celestial figure removing the sun from above his head and the sun represented his father. Overwhelmed by grief he bursts into the sleeping-chamber of Abraham, Sarah hastens in at the sound of his lamentation and hears Michael announce that Abraham's hour has come and he must set his affairs in order. The patriarch shrinks yet resigns himself making only one request—that he may behold all the earth. Accordingly he is caught up in a chariot drawn by cherubs and Abraham saw the world as it was in that day some ploughing others driving wains, in one place men herding flocks and in another watching them by night, and dancing and playing and harping etc. Indignant at various scenes of wickedness Abraham prays that the sinners may be destroyed by fire and wild beasts, and the work of execution begins. But God stays Abraham's hand, and reminds him that compassion may find a way of salvation for the erring. Near the gate of heaven Abraham sees Adam alternately laughing and crying—he laughs when

* Translation of the Gospel in vol. x. 2. of Ante-Nicene Christian Library.

men find the way of life, he cries when they lapse into the way of sin and death. Abel, gleaming with divine glory, sits on the throne of judgment with a massive book of evidences before him on a golden table. Souls are arraigned in his presence, and the record is examined, and the virtues and trespasses are weighed in a balance. [This feature resembles the weighing of the character in the well known Egyptian scene of the Judgment, and the *Testament* is believed to have originated in Egypt.] Enoch is the scribe who records the moral value of each soul. Abraham returns home, and still he fears to die. By God's command the spirit of Death visits the patriarch. Death, cold and beautiful, accosts him, "Hail, holy soul! hail, friend of the Lord God! hail, consolation and entertainment of travellers." Abraham tremblingly bids him welcome, and inquires, "Art thou indeed he that is called Death?" "I am the bitter name," answers the apparition, and he transforms his shape, and shows two fatal heads, one of which is like an asp and the other is like a ghastly sword, and many of Abraham's servants expire straightway, but are reviv'd at the petition of their master. The spirit resumes his gentler form, and tells Abraham how seventy two modes of death are prepared for man. Through fire, through falls from great precipices, through wars, through roaring floods, through the surges of the ocean, through lightning and asps and basilisks and leopards and lions and bears, and through the numbing poison cup, men make exits from the world, and Death conveys them to the bottom of Hades. And still Abraham hesitates. Isaac and Sarah and men-servants and maids gather round his couch. Come,' says Death, "take my right hand, and may cheerfulness and life and strength come to thee. And as the old Hebrew clasps the mystic hand his soul passes, and the angels receive it and bear it, while they sing the hymn of Thrice Holy, to the presence of the God and Father. The divine voice bids them take Abraham to Paradise, "where there is no trouble, nor grief, nor sighing, but peace and rejoicing, and life unending." A Christian writer has added* "Let us, too, my beloved brethren, imitate the hospitality of the patriarch Abraham,

* Two versions printed in 'Ante Nicene Christian Volume' (additional volume)

and attain to his virtuous way of life, that we may be thought worthy of the life eternal, glorifying the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to whom be glory forever."

A portion of the *Sibylline Books* not yet glanced at may be here noticed, though, in placing it at this point, we cannot insist on the chronology, and simply emphasise the fact that the Sibylline poems proceeded from various hands at various dates. The Sixth Book bears traces of traditions which we have already encountered in the second century—the fire on the water at Christ's baptism, and the Docetic doctrine of Jesus receiving the divine Christ spirit on the same occasion. An address to the Cross apostrophises it as "O blessed tree, whereon God was stretched;" and the poet says mysteriously that the Cross has ascended to heaven, there to remain until the coming of the Son of Man. This crisis of Judgment is also described in the Seventh Book. A great column of flame shall blaze in the sky as a forerunner of the advent, and it shall destroy the wicked. For the righteous Christ has prepared three blessed towers, in which dwell Hope, Piety, and Religion. In the happy Messianic days a remarkable ceremonial will be practised by the elect. Sings the Sibyl: "Thou shalt offer sacrifice to the great immortal God not melting with fire the grain of incense nor slaying with the knife the shaggy lamb, but taking woodland birds thou shalt pry and let them fly, turning thine eyes to heaven and thou shalt pour water in libation into the pure fire with these words: O Father, as the Father begat thee, the Word I send forth this bird, the swift messenger of my words, with holy water besprinkling thy baptism through which from the fire thou didst appear." *

Its origins lie in emotions, dreams, speculations, yearnings, which partly conflicted, partly coalesced. Rival tendencies strove one with the other—Paulinism against the Judaistic stiffness of Cephas, James, and John, the rich fancy of Gnosticism against the formalism of Irenæus. Gnosticism succumbed, and the more prosaic but more stable form of faith rose to eminence and orthodoxy. And this orthodoxy, quietly applying itself to the task of conquering the Roman world, felt the need of a spiritual base of operations, an ultimate authority. It supplied the need by choosing out a new series of scriptures which were subsequently to receive canonical rank, and which, by adding strength to the Old Testament, gave double potency to the voice of God. The same process elevated the officialism of the churches to a place of supreme honour. After ages would be called upon to decide between these authorities—the infallible Church and Bible. Christendom would divide its support until an era dawned when it would reject the dogmatic claims of both. Two currents, moral and intellectual, played and interplayed. The Christian ethics found expression in noble and simple character in *unaffected neighbourliness*, in personal and domestic sobriety, in an intrepidity of temper which smiled at death as a mere accident in the progress to glory; but Christian ethics also manifested itself in an exaggerated self-denial, a moroseness towards the poetic and the gay, an illogical jealousy towards other religious creeds, and a short-sighted contempt for civic activity and duty. If we incline to praise both the pagan and the Christian types, let us on the one hand admire the catholic benignity with which the Stoic looked out upon the spreading millions of human kind and on the other, the winsome charity which made the accents of forgiveness tremble on the tongue of the persecuted Christian. Or if we venture to censure both let us blame the pagan for lascivious insolence towards maidenhood such as the pages of Apuleius display and the Christian fathers for their neglect of that brilliant agency for improving the race which the modern world calls Education. And that neglect leads us to observe the peculiarity of the intellectual current, which carried men away from a study of society, literature, art, and nature to an intense absorption, in the relation of man towards the

unseen world. This drift of thought worked both good and evil. It made for good in so far as it tended to enlarge the view of human personality, its affinity with universal processes (poorly enough symbolised by the Christian doctrines of Christ and God and the Heavenly City) and its capacity to rise beyond restricted interests and parochial politics and the conceits of pedantry. It resulted in evil in so far as it led to disdain of the value of mental culture, to the folly of subservient regard for pious Scriptures, and to the lamentable strife of tongues which has turned so large a part of the history of Christianity into a history of dogma.

END OF VOLUME III

NOTES

Page 45 —It is quite possible that the injunction "Let the women keep silence, etc." is an interpolation as it seems inconsistent with Paul's permission to women to pray in public.

Page 45 —Near middle of page. For "*independence*" of the moral teaching read "unconventionality."

Page 37 —Note. As is admitted later fragments of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus are Pauline.

Page 52 —Paul's correspondence. A praiseworthy attempt to render Paul's epistles into readable modern English has been made by Mr. F. Fenton though his book is marred by curious irrelevances in the preface.

Page 63 —Near bottom. The reference chapter in 58 should read chapter 1.

Page 102 —Little below the middle. For "deviation" read "derivation."

Page 136 —Just above middle. For "trustful prayer" read "filial prayer."

Page 190. —First line of main paragraph. For "one pregnant fact" read "fact."

Page 213 —Second paragraph. For "iron chain" read "iron char."

Page 27 —The Passion of the Martyrs of Scillita. With this may be compared the Apology of Apollonius edited by F. C. Conybeare. Mr. Conybeare claims that this Apology belongs to the second century.

LIST OF BOOKS

REFERRED TO IN THIS VOLUME

N B—*Paul*—Hegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co *Williams* =
Williams & Norgate

ARBOTT and PUSHERBROOKE The common tradition of the Synoptic
gospels *Macmillan* 3s 6d.

ANSAULT Culte de la croix avant Jésus Christ Pamphlet *Paris*

Ante Nicene Christian Library *F & T Clark* 10s 6d each vol

Apostolic Fathers (Clement Polycarp Irenaeus Ignatius
Dionysius Heracleon) Justin Martyr and Athenagora
in Tatian Theophilus and Clementine Recognitions
iv and x Clement of Alexandria v and x Irenaeus
v Tertullian against Marcion x and xx Origen xvi.
Apocryphal gospels acts and revelations xvi Clementine
Homilies The additional volume published in 1897 contains
the Gospel of Peter Dates of Peter Apocalypse of Peter Testa-
ment of Abraham Acts of Martyrs of Scillita, etc.

APULEIUS Works Trans *Bell* 5s

ARISTIDES *see* J. H. Harris

ATHENAGORAS *see* Ante Nicene

AURELIUS Marcus Thoughts Trans G Long *Bell* 3s 6d

BAUR, F C, Church history 2 vols. *Willis* s 21s

Paul the apostle of Christ *Willis* s 21s

* BARNABAS *see* Ante Nicene

BINGHAM J Origines ecclesiastice 10 vols Out of print.

CAPES W W Early Roman Empire *Longmans* 2s 6d

CARPENTER J E The first three gospels *Sunday School Associa-
tion* 3s 6d

CHARLES R H (ed) Book of Enoch *Frowde* 16s

CHASE F H The Lord's Prayer *Cambridge Press*, 5s

CLEMENT *see* Ante Nicene

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